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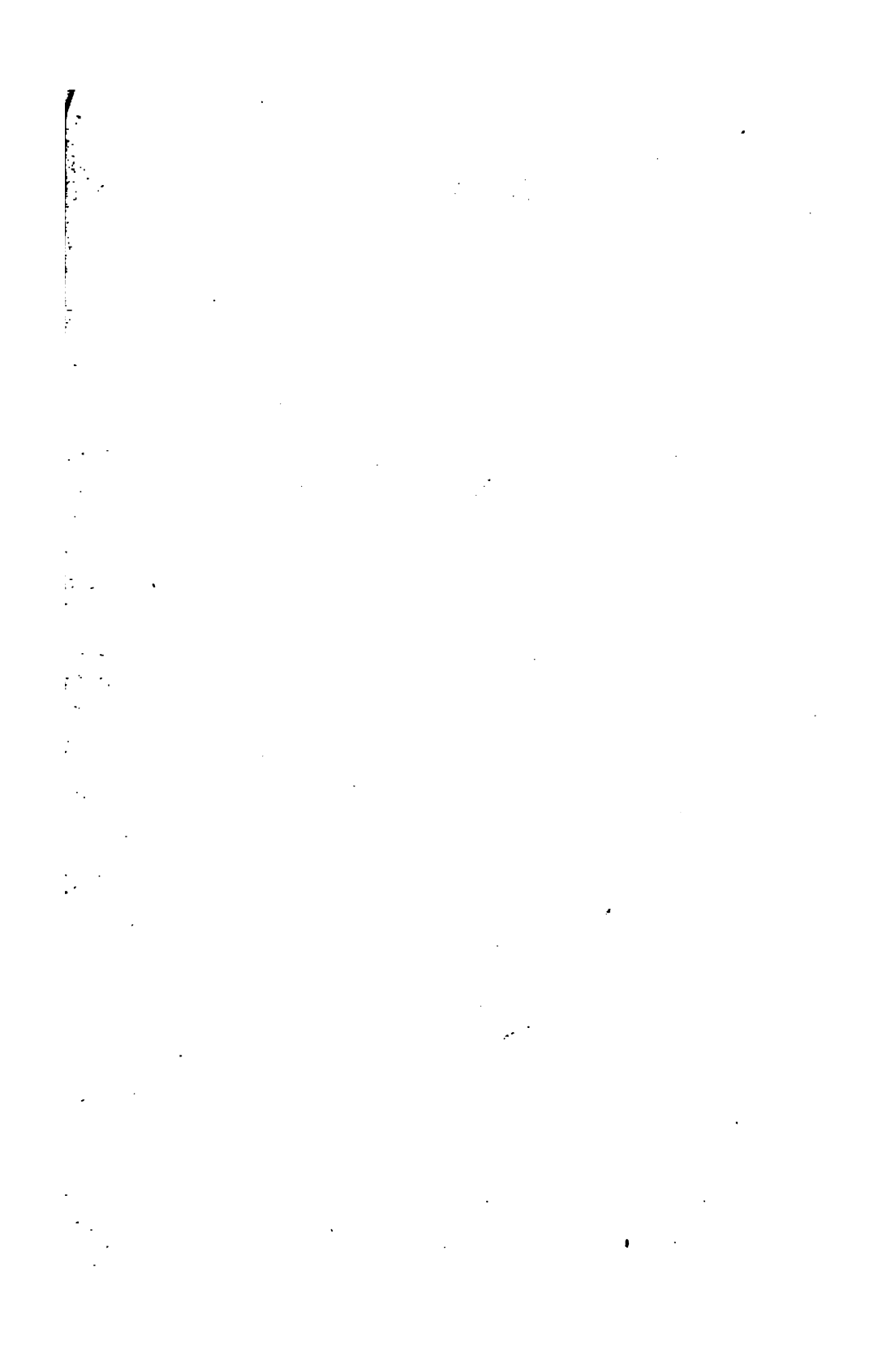
*GOVERNMENT  
CONDUCT  
AND EXAMPLE.*



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# GOVERNMENT, CONDUCT, AND EXAMPLE:

BY

WILLIAM DAWBARN,

AUTHOR OF

"ESSAYS, TALES," ETC., ETC.

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THIRD EDITION.

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LONDON:

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## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

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I have added to this third edition a lecture on Glasgow, delivered by me to the Young Men's Christian Association, of Wisbeach, which may be well considered as belonging to the third division of my subject—"Government, Conduct, and Example." Whilst the life of Sydney Smith illustrates the conduct of an individual, Glasgow gives an example of the conduct of a people,—a people who, for civilization and intelligence, and in almost all other respects, are among the first of modern races. It is true that in association with these good qualities there are certain peculiarities of character which will bear correction, and these will, no doubt, in progress of time, be so corrected by an ever enlarging culture.

As the Lecture on Glasgow was one of two, I have added in an appendix the second—The Resources of Wisbeach. Not viewing it to be of the same general interest as that on Glasgow, I have put it in the less prominent form of an appendix.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE first edition of these lectures having secured a ready sale, I have prepared a second edition. I have added about thirty pages of new matter, and have altered a few pages containing redundant illustrations and epithets suitable for oral delivery, but which seemed not so suitable where exactness, full expression, and good taste are more particularly required.

Since the pages referring to bribery and returning members to Parliament have been printed, the towns of Yarmouth, Lancaster, Totnes, and Reigate have been disfranchised. A Reform Bill has extended the suffrages of the people, and altered considerably the constituencies which are in future to return members to Parliament.

It may not be unnecessary to notice the principal alterations which this Bill has made in the Constitution.

Every man who is twenty-one years of age is a voter, if he has occupied a house for twelve months and paid poor rates. Lodgers occupying rooms, at the annual rate of ten pounds and upwards, after two years' occupation, are also voters. County

voters have their franchise lowered from fifty pounds to twelve pounds. The four largest towns in the kingdom have had three members given them, but each voter can only vote for two candidates. And all boroughs of less than ten thousand population in 1861 are to return only one member.

I trust that my friends who have perused the first edition, will consider the revision to which I have subjected this to be an improvement.

*Elmswood, Liverpool,*  
*October, 1867.*

## INTRODUCTION.

By the good offices of my late worthy partner and father-in-law, William Yelverton, Esq., I was permitted for some years to be a non-resident from my mercantile engagements in Liverpool, and to live in a small country town a life of somewhat greater leisure than I should otherwise have had. Leisure, as every one knows, is so much a negative state of existence, as often to make people fall into mischief. Mine, to be rendered as harmless as possible, ran into reading and writing, and endeavouring to fix in an agricultural district, manufactures, which might give new sources of employment to an indigent and half-occupied population. This attempt to manufacture succeeding, I ventured to accept, as they fell upon me, those public trusts which, from the Englishman's love of self-government, are to be found in connexion with Town Councils and Savings Banks, Boards of Guardians and Assessed Taxes, Boards of Health and Turnpike Trusts. I do not know very well how it came to pass, but it was also thought by some of the societies in my neighbourhood, formed for mutual improvement and Christian

usefulness, to whom I was known, that I was a proper person to be asked to lecture—and I lectured. Some of my friends and hearers who thought my lectures sufficiently good and useful, requested me to print them. So I have added to the number of the employments of my leisure, the small, unpretending volume, to which these few lines are the introduction.

The first of these three lectures,—Government, illustrated from Blackstone and his Commentaries,—was delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, in Liverpool. The design was to give a brief sketch of the foundation of the citizenship and liberty which we are permitted to enjoy under the enlightened rule of Queen, Lords, and Commons.

The second,—Conduct, illustrated from Private, Business, and Public Life,—was given in the Town Hall of Cambridge, to the Young Men's Christian Association. Its object was to enter into some of those general requirements, which most men must strive to possess, who would hope to arrive at anything like success in life.

The third lecture,—Example, illustrated from Sydney Smith and his Writings,—was delivered to the members of the Society of Arts, Lynn. Its great design was from the writings and example of that worthy man, whose mind was a well-regulated, well-balanced, and justly-proportioned mind, to show that partizanship is not necessarily injurious to the better interests of the public, when party feeling is guided by pure, incorruptible, and intelligent energy.

I hold that, whatever be our politics, we should always respect and choose character, and consider it to be of greater importance and value than that of mere party. It is scarcely possible for any of us to live in this, our country, without being identified with party feeling of some kind or another ; but it is possible to live a life like that of Sydney Smith, who was respected by all for his consistency. His talents, manly character, and private excellencies, make him a good example for the youth of this kingdom to become acquainted with.

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### THE RESOURCES OF WISBEACH.

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## BLACKSTONE AND HIS COMMENTARIES.

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Justice Blackstone tells us very particularly, in the introduction to his invaluable work, "Commentaries on the Laws of England," who are the persons who should know something of what he has written. The nobility should know it; members of parliament should know it; the clergy should know it; the medical profession should know it; and I will venture to extend the limit further than that which Judge Blackstone prescribed, which was confined by the circumstances of the times in which he wrote, by saying that, as the schoolmaster is now abroad, every person who has been taught to read or write should be acquainted with a brief outline or digest of the laws of England, such as this great lawyer has written. He has certainly written in a manner which has yet been unequalled, both for clearness and knowledge, on the character and peculiarities of the laws of England.

It is not my purpose to drive you through the maze of Latin quotations and French expressions that abound in this work, but merely to give you a general idea of the four volumes called the Commentaries of Blackstone. I shall present you with

an outline of the work, so that when once the name of Blackstone's Commentaries is pronounced, you may feel it is a book with which you have some acquaintance.

In these times of freedom I know no more important study than to seek how to transmit this freedom to our children, unimpaired by neglect, uninjured by vice, and untarnished by dishonour. Britain is the freest of the free. Her flag is the standard of liberty and progress. Liberty for black and white. Progress for thought and action.

In treating my subject I shall first name to you the limits that are imposed on regal power by our constitution. A Monarch dies, and his successor has to swear that "he or she will govern the kingdom according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same."

The Archbishop puts this question to the Monarch at his coronation, and receives the answer in the two words of holy wedlock,—"*I will.*"

He next asks—"Will you maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by the law, and will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law *do* or *shall* appertain unto them, or any of them?" "All this I promise to do." And the Monarch, laying his hands on the Holy Gospel, says,—“The things which I have here before promised I will perform and

keep: so help me God." And then he kisses the book.

This is the solemn promise of Kingly or Queenly power, as devised for the restraint of William and Mary, and their successors. Previous to the Revolution of 1688 the Parliament of England had learned to its cost what it was to have Kings who fancied they were put on the throne by Divine right; and in order to avoid having irresponsible Kings or Queens in future, they determined on fixing the duties of a King or Queen beforehand, while the throne was vacant.

Therefore, the settling of the duties of our Kings and Queens is, I consider, one of the first bulwarks of our liberty. Blackstone shows, from a lawyer as far back as Henry Third's time, (1272) that this was even then the English custom. This old lawyer, Bracton by name, says,—“The King ought not to be subject to man, but to God and the *law*, for the *law* maketh the King.” And in order to make Royalty subject to the laws, it was decreed by statute,—“*That the Kings and Queens who ascend the throne ought to administer the government according to the said laws.*”

I have made this coronation oath the very basis of this lecture, because from its limitations we can speak more certainly of the extent of the laws, of the power of the Parliaments which make the laws, and of the jurisdiction of the Judges who determine them. A measure on its introduction into either

House of Parliament is called a Bill. The *King, Lords and Commons*, have to agree upon this Bill before it can become a law to bind the subject. "Whatever is enacted by one or by two only of the three is no Statute." It still remains a Bill only. But when once a Bill gets passed into an "Act" or Statute it is then Law,—Law which may hang, marry, divorce, endow, pull down, or rebuild,—Law which can make a man a head shorter, or a million richer, determine whether a pauper be a duke, or a lord a felon,—give the nation privileges and impose taxes,—fix the income of a bishop, and give a pension to a mistress of a King. So much are Acts of Parliament superlatively strong, that the lawyers say "they can do every thing but make a man a woman and a woman a man."

What I have said of Parliament assembled is nothing to what Lord Coke has said. Blackstone quotes him thus :—"The power of parliament and its jurisdiction is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds. It may be truly said,—*Si antiquitatem spectes, est vetustissima; si dignitatem, est honoratissima; si jurisdictionem est capacissima.*" It is no wonder that judges should look so grave, when one thinks of all the responsibilities and power they possess of giving force and effect to these Acts.

Blackstone further states that Parliament "can alter the religion of the land, as it has done. It can regulate the succession to the crown. It can change

and create afresh the constitution of the Kingdom, and of Parliaments themselves. In short, it can do every thing not impossible; and some have not scrupled to call its power by a figure somewhat too bold, 'The omnipotence of Parliament.' True it is what the Parliament doeth no authority on earth can undo." \* \* \* \* "It is, therefore, a matter most essential to the liberties of the Kingdom, that such members of parliament be elected to this important trust as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge. The great Burleigh said that England could never be ruined but by a Parliament. Sir Matthew Hale observes that if any misgovernment fall upon the Parliament the people are left without remedy. And Montesquieu presages that as Sparta, Rome, and Carthage have lost their liberties and perished, so the constitution of England will in time lose its liberty and perish." We hope that the learned Frenchman will in this respect prove no true prophet. We believe in the duration of the English constitution, because we have the principle of representation, such as was unknown to Sparta, Rome, and Carthage. We have all, of this generation, seen liberty advance with order, morals with education, and population with wealth. The preacher, as long as he can fill his church or his chapel, sees stability in our institutions. The agriculturist, as long as his produce will command high prices, thinks old England all right. The manufacturer, as long as he can find labor and

material for his mills, is quite satisfied. The merchant sees no prospect of trade perishing as long as he can find a market for his goods. And the lawyer himself says, with Montesquieu, England will only perish when the legislative power shall be more corrupt than the executive.

The three estates of the realm which make these good and valid laws are the King, Lords, and Commons. It is disputed, however, whether the King is an estate at all. Blackstone says one thing and Hallam says another. Blackstone makes the three estates to be the Lords Temporal, Lords Spiritual, and the Commons. Hallam shows it to be historically correct to say King, Lords and Commons. It is very reasonable to accept this view, as the Lords Spiritual have no power exclusive of the Lords Temporal, with whom they form one house, the Upper House of Parliament.

The quantity of commentary that might be written on our English Parliaments is very great. It would be another History of England. The battle for liberty and power has been a hard battle. Liberty has advanced by the natural aspirations of the people, and by the watchful solicitude of a few ardent minds. Parliament has resisted the encroachments of Kings when they were strong, and snatched its privileges when they were weak. It is a fact in English history, that the weaker the title of a King to the throne, the more liberty did the Parliament exact and obtain.

I do not know how it may be with others, but with myself I love antiquity ; and when I enter any of those old castles, whose venerable traditions and domestic broils are matters of social history, I feel the wish that I could have seen the assembled throngs that long ago gathered in their spacious halls ; that I could have seen the old and the young together as they were wont to be ; the boys and girls in their frolics ; the coy maid and the ardent daring youth in secret converse ; the sober matron and the staid husband checking the mirth that is a little too much for the peace or the quiet of the aged couple seated by yonder blazing fire, halting between the one state of being and the other ; the old bearded warriors at their rough feasts, cased in armour, and riotous over their tales of adventure and danger ; or, when they were all busy preparing for some adventurous fray, or some Flodden or Shrewsbury field, in which they were to win grim renown. I sometimes wish all this, and never more so than when I am considering the history of the laws of my country.

Before the time of William the Conqueror, say a thousand years ago, our Saxon fathers combined the habits of law making with their social pleasures. They had their Parliament as we have ; their Wittenagemot, or wise men's meeting, at which they transacted business of public import, as we do. The history of this old Parliament is, however, obscured by the dim twilight of the past. The meeting of this Parliament, and of that of its successors, were

long confined to the festive seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Feasting and legislation went hand in hand.

Of Parliamentary proceedings very little is known till the times of John the Tyrant, (A.D. 1215) six hundred years ago. The Magna Charta, however, defines the duties and declares the authority of such gatherings, so much so, that the very form in which Parliament was then shaped is very nearly the form it now possesses. John promised to give forty days' notice to the Earls and Barons, Bishops and Abbots, when they were to assemble; he also issued writs to the Sheriffs in those days to call and summon to the meeting Knights and Tenants of the Crown. There is still a copy of a writ in existence by which King John, in 1214, ordered the Sheriffs of each county to send to a general assembly at Oxford, "four chosen Knights, in order to discuss with us the affairs of our kingdom." For the commencement of that branch of the House of Commons, the representatives of cities and boroughs, we must take a date subsequent to the great charter. Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester, effected this great revolution. In order to insure the stability of the ticklish power he had created, and to counterbalance the defection of rival barons, who began to be jealous of his success, and to plot his overthrow, he added Knights and Burgesses to the Parliament, whom he naturally thought would be his partisans. The instances sometimes asserted of borough representation before

his time are both scanty and spurious; but to the Parliament summoned by him in the time of Henry III, after the battle of Lewes, 1264, (a date ever to be remembered,) two burgesses were returned for every borough, and two knights for every shire, the writs for which are still preserved. De Montford soon perished in the civil wars, but his great measure of reform perished not with him.

This parliament of ours, by its slow growth of centuries, is very strong. The prerogatives of the King are now limited, and are far less than they were under the Tudors. The days of Queen Elizabeth and our days are very different. Three hundred years ago she told her Parliament "that they ought not to deal, or judge, or meddle with her prerogative;" and so directed her Parliament to refrain from such discourse. So also James says, "Good Christians will be content with God's will as revealed in his word, and good subjects will rest in the King's will revealed in his (the King's) law."

But Blackstone says that "though the limitation of the royal authority had been gradually driven out and overborne by violence and chicane in most of the kingdoms of the continent, still, it was a first and essential principle in all the Gothic systems of Europe to limit a King's authority. And for this reason our free constitution has interposed such seasonable checks and restraints as may curb it from trampling on liberty." Sir William Temple said that for a Prince to govern all by *all*, is the great

secret of happiness and safety both for king and people. Napoleon's maxim was the contrary one, "Everything *for* the people, nothing *by* them." The fate of Napoleon himself, and France after him, proves the wisdom of the English statesman.

Blackstone then tells us to whom we are indebted for freedom. We know that since the days of the Stuarts we have had the times of a Cromwell and of a William the Third. Those were times in which the people struggled for liberty, fought for liberty, and died for liberty; times in which the Star Chamber iniquities were abolished, and the race of judges such as Jeffreys extinguished.

The ideas of Blackstone, however, are rather too antiquated for these days of progress. He talks a great deal of the advantage of spending money on pomp and show, and decorations, for the purpose of sham, "making the royal capacity appear as distinct from, and superior to, those of any other in the nation;" at the same time recognizing the fact that a *philosophic mind* will "consider the royal mind as one person only, appointed by mutual consent, to preside over many others, and will pay him that reverence and duty which the principles of society demand." Blackstone did not know who were to follow him, and that the human mind was in a state of *philosophic* advancement, capable of discerning the difference between the dignity of position and the attributes of the man.

Paley, I think, was among the first whom we

have to thank for giving us a correct notion of royalty and its prerogatives. His admirable sketch of the flock of pigeons waiting till one, and that the weakest and worst, got his fill, struck a blow at the Divine right of Kings, which has never found advocates hardy enough to return.

In one passage Blackstone says,—“That the law ascribes certain attributes to the King of a great and transcendent nature, by which we are led to consider him in the light of a superior being, and to pay him that awful respect which may enable him with greater ease to carry on the government.” This passage seems to be taken from the notion which was entertained of Royalty when Henry VIII. reigned, and flattery was more profitable than it is now. “There’s a Divinity doth hedge a King,” is scarcely such a sentiment as the rough thinking masses of the present day would respond to. The Sovereign has become more of the servant than the Divinity of the people, and the law itself has bated its worship since Blackstone wrote.

I shall now direct your attention to what Blackstone calls the prerogatives of regal power. The first of these prerogatives is a paradox. It is, that the Queen can do no wrong; it is only her advisers who do the wrong. Besides doing no wrong, she is supposed incapable of proposing to do wrong, that is, our laws do not impute intentional wrong doing, but attribute wrong doing to inadvertence, and wrong thinking to human infirmity. “Evils

which flow from the administration rather than from the Sovereign."

Another of the maxims of the state is, that the Kingly power never dies ; for, as soon as the breath is out of the body of a Sovereign, "*eo instanti*," the power is vested in his heir. The government of the country also constitutes the Kingly power the supreme magistracy of the nation, all others acting by commission from it. Besides these prerogatives, the power of the Sovereign is absolute in the right of rejecting bills, making treaties, coining money, creating peers, and pardoning offences.

I shall not pass this subject of the Sovereign's prerogative without noticing that, with all his wish to be civil to the Royal power, Blackstone shows that there is a weak point in the machinery of government which antiquity and precedent have not been able to strengthen.

If you have an unjust King,—a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, or a Domitian,—what is to be done then ? Blackstone says,—“When unconstitutional oppressions advance with gigantic strides and threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity. They will not sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to political maxims. When James II. invaded the fundamental constitution of the realm, the convention declared an abdication,” and no doubt future generations will act again as they please. “Whenever the exertion of these inherent powers of society

require it," this exertion will be used, "which no climate, no time, no constitution, no contract, can ever destroy or diminish."

Before leaving the prerogatives of the Queen, I will name an incident recorded by Blackstone about ambassadors and their rights.

Ambassadors are appointed under the Queen's prerogative. "What is done by the Royal authority with regard to foreign powers is the act of the whole nation."

The Queen therefore sends her ambassadors to other states, and receives ambassadors in return from those states. If an ambassador behave ill, he may be sent home by the power he offends; but in every other respect he is independent of any power but the one he represents.

Foreign jurists agree that ambassadors shall not be prosecuted for debt. But the ambassador of Peter the Great getting into debt was dragged from his coach and clapped into prison, for non-payment of a debt of £50. Instead of applying to be discharged upon his privilege, he gave bail to the action, and the next day complained to Queen Anne. The Czar, when he heard of the circumstance, was in a dreadful rage, and demanded that the sheriff of Middlesex and all others concerned in the apprehension of his representative should be put to death instantly. But Queen Anne had been taught by her country and Parliament better than this. She only directed her secretary to inform the Royal Muscovite, "that she

could inflict no punishment upon any of her subjects unless warranted by the law of the land." To show, however, that the nation had no wish to interfere with the rights of ambassadors, an act was passed to prevent and punish such "outrageous insolence" for the future. The Act of Parliament was elegantly engrossed on vellum, a letter was written by the Queen, and an ambassador extraordinary despatched with it to Moscow, who was to tell the irritable Peter "that a new act had been passed to serve as a law in future." This apology was accepted, and the offender was discharged from further prosecution.

The power and progress of ancient Rome and of Britain have often been the subject of comparison by philosophic minds. Those elements of destruction which destroyed Rome have been supposed to be at work to destroy England. But apart from the influence of Christianity on England, and the principle of national representation in Parliament, the genius of Britain is shown in its earliest history to be widely different from that of the genius of Rome. The Romans thought all traffic and commerce dishonourable. Blackstone says of us English, that so far from commerce being thought dishonourable, it is to be found in our Magna Charta, that all foreign merchants shall have a safe conduct to come in and go out of England without any unreasonable impost. If a war break out between us and their country, they shall be "attached" till the King hears how our merchants

are used, and if ours are secure, then theirs shall be secure.

Montesquieu, in great admiration of the conduct of England, says,—“The English have made the protection of foreign merchants one of the articles of their national liberty. The English, better than any people upon earth, know how to value at the same time the three great advantages of religion, liberty, and commerce. It is the freest country in the world. If a man had as many enemies as hairs on his head, no harm would happen to him.”

Blackstone compares these views of this enlightened Frenchman with that of Pope Urban II., (1090) living 700 or 800 years ago, who said it was impossible, with a safe conscience, to follow any trade, or take to the law as a living.

You will see, therefore, how much we are indebted to our forefathers for giving the tone to our social life. Long ago was the Royal prerogative restricted and bent into the direction most profitable and useful. Indeed, the practical seems to have been ever the creed of an Englishman. If he does fight, and dispute, and struggle, he does not want it to be about straws. It must be something that he can see, feel, know, and handle. He does not bind his King by Act of Parliament, unless he is named specially. He does not take a King to be ornamental only, but to be useful also. He makes him the generalissimo of his army, and the sole agent for raising his fleets. Some 600 years ago there were more than a

thousand castles in private hands, terrifying private subjects and holding the people in bondage. English “practicality” made their King demolish these castles as they fell to decay, and to prevent their being rebuilt the law lays it down that no subject can build a castle or a fortress without license from the King.

It is especially also the Royal business to look after the condition of the ports of the kingdom, and the buoys and beacons of the coast. The eyes of our Sovereign are supposed to be everywhere. He is not only first magistrate, but he creates courts of judicature as they are wanted, and presides in person in every one of them,—at least so says the law,—and he is considered the fountain of justice. He is also the fountain of all honour; but remember, that even for a Havelock, he cannot take a penny of public money to endow any of the honours he may choose to confer, “nor can he do any thing but what he can do by law.” Nevertheless, he can fix precedence, charter corporations, make markets, regulate weights and measures, fix the value of money, nominate bishops, and, as head of the church, hear appeals in all ecclesiastical causes, and be the honoured father of a nursery full of children,—an exemplary pattern of conjugal felicity for the world to look upon.

Of course, with so much to do there is much labour, and so much labour must be paid for, and so it is; but we must omit on this occasion speaking of the source of the Royal revenue.

We will, if you please, now give our attention to the proceedings of Parliament assembled. Blackstone says, pointedly, that in tyrannical governments the supreme head takes on itself the making and enforcing of laws. One and the same man takes both offices; but in England we make these two duties distinct. The Parliament takes the one duty and the Courts of Law the other. Parliament takes the duty of making laws. In the time of Alfred the Great, it, or something of a Parliamentary character, made laws, and so it has continued doing to this day, which laws the executive enforces. As we said before, the Sovereign sends out a summons forty days beforehand, when he requires Parliament to meet.

The laws which regulate the holding and duration of Parliament belong to the period between the Revolution and the accession of George III. A statute as old as the reign of Edward III., provided that Parliaments should be held "every year, or oftener if need be." But this enactment was in no age respected, and it was supposed to have only provided that there should be an annual meeting of Parliament, and not that there should be a new Parliament every year. The famous Triennial Act of 1642, passed by the Long Parliament, provided that every Parliament was to be *ipso facto* dissolved at the expiration of three years from the first day of its Session, unless sitting at the time, and in that case, at its first adjournment or prorogation. The Chancellor,

or Keeper, was sworn to issue writs for a new Parliament within three years from the dissolution of the last ; in case of his not doing so, the Peers were to issue writs to the Sheriffs, and if the Peers failed in their duty, the Sheriffs themselves were to cause elections to be made ; and in their default, the electors even might proceed to choose their representatives. This salutary statute was repealed after the Restoration, at the request of Charles II., and one of his Parliaments was prolonged into a mischievous existence for seventeen years. A Triennial Bill was again passed in the reign of William III., and remained in force more than twenty years ; but historians tell us that this Triennial Act was, on the whole, more inconvenient than beneficial. Parliament was not the less corrupt for it ; indeed, the most glaring cases of corruption belong to this period of our history. Sir John Trevor, the Speaker of the House, was detected in receiving a bribe of a thousand guineas from the city of London ; the sum being plainly entered upon the books of the Corporation as a payment for this dirty work ; and Mr. Guy, the Secretary to the Treasury, was sent to the Tower for a similar offence. Bishop Burnet, who is an extreme partisan, and especially attached to the Parliament that sprung out of the Revolution, admits and deplores the great extent of corruption among the members of the House of Commons. The great statesman, Lord Somers, only a short time before his death,

congratulated the Ministry on the passing of the Septennial Bill, because he never had considered the Triennial Bill favourable to the liberty of the country ; its effects had been the very reverse of what was intended. The cause, however, which led to the substitution of the Septennial Bill for that of the Triennial, was not so much from any desire for increased purity on the part of the House of Commons, (the future history of the Walpole administration shows this,) as it was deemed unsafe by the Ministers of the Hanoverian King George I., in 1716, to risk a general election at a time when an invasion from France and Spain threatened the kingdom, and a Jacobite rebellion had scarcely been quelled. Party feeling at this time was virulent, and the Government unpopular with that large part of the influential men of the country which formed the Jacobite and Tory parties ; hence the celebrated Septennial Act was passed, which has hitherto stood firm against all attempts to repeal it.

I will now briefly explain how it is contrived that there must be an *Annual Meeting* of Parliament. There is a provision in the Bill of Rights which declares that it is illegal to raise or keep a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. The maintenance of a regularly disciplined force has long been considered indispensable for the defence of England and her transmarine possessions. The consequence has been that ever since the Bill of Rights became law, an

Annual Act of Parliament has been passed, authorizing the keeping on foot a defined number of troops, and giving the Crown the power of exercising martial law over them. This Annual Act is called the Mutiny Act. It endures for a single year only; so that there must be a Session of Parliament every year, and a New Mutiny Act passed, or the army would be disbanded.

In addition to this important guarantee for the regular meeting of Parliament, a system of settling the Royal revenue was established in the reign of William III., which necessitates the observance of the same constitutional principle of yearly renewal. It had been customary to vote the King large permanent revenues on his accession, so that he was sometimes able to go on with little or no resort to Parliament for ten or a dozen years together. James I. ruled seven, and Charles I. eleven years without a Parliament. His profligate son did not renew his Parliament for seventeen years. The House of Commons then determined no longer to vote to the Crown large sums to be applied to particular purposes according to the Royal discretion; but they appropriated specific parts of the revenue to specific purposes of Government. This is called the "Appropriation of Supplies." The Lords of the Treasury, by a clause annually repeated in the Appropriation Act, are forbidden, under severe penalties, to order by their warrant any moneys in the Exchequer appropriated to any special object to be issued

for any other purpose. Nor dare the Officer of the Exchequer obey any such warrant if issued. "These are the two effectual securities against military power," says Mr. Hallam, "that no pay can be issued to the troops without a previous authorization by the Commons, in a Committee of Supply, and by both Houses in an Act of Appropriation; and that no officer or soldier can be punished for disobedience, nor any court-martial be held without the annual re-enactment of the Mutiny Bill." Hence the Annual Mutiny Act, and the Annual Appropriation Act, necessitate an Annual Meeting of Parliament.

The number of Peers is indefinite. The number is now about four hundred and sixty; or, deducting Irish and Scotch Peers and Bishops, three hundred and ninety.\* Only three descendants of the Barons, summoned six hundred years ago by Simon De Montford, now sit in the House. They are Lords Hastings, De Ros, and Audley. There are four Peerages only which belong to the fourteenth century; seven to the fifteenth; twelve to the sixteenth; thirty-five to the seventeenth; ninety-five to the eighteenth; two hundred and thirty-three to the nineteenth. More than four hundred Peerages were created during the reigns of George III. and George IV., between 1760 and 1830, or in seventy years of Tory rule. Pitt alone created a hundred and forty. Three or four Peerages become extinct yearly.

\* The Irish Bishops were, by the Bill of 1869, for Disestablishing and Disendowing the Irish Church, deprived of their Peerages, and, consequently, of their seats in the House of Lords.

They are made at pleasure, by the Sovereign's own will. Anne made twelve on one occasion, all at once. William the Fourth made several when the Reform Bill was in abeyance. And our worthy Queen, as we all know, had the honour to raise that eminent Commoner, Baron Macaulay, the historian, to the Peerage. The value of the Peerage is enhanced by its indefinite and expansive nature. It makes many of the Commons aspire to its honour. It is a spring of action that "puts the wheels of Government in motion." It is the electric current which acts from the top to the bottom of our society. Even Americans, with all their boasts of freedom and republican equality, pay homage to a Lord. He can generally command an attentive audience at any time at home and abroad. He is everywhere received with respect. In his own House of Lords he can enter his protest if he cannot have his own way; a good plan of getting rid of the spleen of defeat; and till lately he could have a proxy to vote for him when he is absent. If he agree with the question before the house, he says he is content; if not, he says he is non-content.

Public opinion says the Lords are worthy to have a house to themselves, and a hall dressed out in gorgeous splendour is given to them. Originally there was only a House of Lords. The representatives summoned from the Counties and Boroughs by Simon de Montford, sat with the Bohuns and De Veres; and it was only in the reign of

Edward III. that the Commons and Lords became the inmates of different apartments. Though the Commons are all-powerful, yet they usually pay the Lords great deference. It is the deference of youth to age, of knowledge to wisdom, of wealth to birth ; but also in a large degree the homage of vigour and energy to indolence and frivolity. Hereditary as the Peerage is, unless it were continually impregnated with the new blood of the Commons it would soon cease to command respect ; the caste enfeebled by age and dissipation would lose its status, if it did not die out. As it is, soldiers, lawyers, merchants, and bankers, are continually added to the Peers, who contribute that knowledge which the older families need, that decision which they require, and that sympathy which class and class demands in this country, in order to work harmoniously together. It is not an uninteresting fact to find this august assembly having a bishop to read prayers to them, before beginning business at five o'clock in the day. The same homage to Almighty God is rendered in the House of Commons by a chaplain at four o'clock. Whatever may be the condition or order of the House, the uniform practice of prayer testifies to the fact, that there have been those of our forefathers Christian enough in mind and heart to begin a practice of an eminently Christian character.

Of the House of Commons, any native born person, whether Episcopalian or Dissenter, Catholic or Jew, who has attained his majority may be a

member, if he has only influence enough to get there, and is not disqualified by his vocation. Those who are ineligible are aliens and excisemen, clergymen and taxgatherers, felons, sheriffs and traitors. Once, in Henry the Fourth's time, the Lords became so sick of lawyers, that they determined they should also be among those incapable of election. But the law could not stand against the lawyers, and they resumed work. The business transacted without them, of course, did not please them, and by way of branding such bad manners, they termed the sittings the unlearned Parliament—a Parliament, as Coke says, which never made a good law.

It was requisite, until very recently, for a member to have a certain amount of property as a qualification. If a man represented a county, his minimum wealth was fixed at £600 a year; if a borough, at £300. The eldest sons of peers and members for the universities were exempt from this qualification; so also were the members for Scotland. But the property qualification was altogether abolished during the late Lord Derby's administration of 1858—9.

It is very remarkable that taxes are alone imposed and raised by the Commons. The reason of this is very easily deduced from the History of Parliament. Simon de Montford added the democratic element to the old assembly of land owners, Abbots and Bishops, in order to strengthen himself against the jealousy and intrigues of his brother

Peers. When the King got his own again, it would have been only a natural course for him to discharge the popular element, and restore the Parliament to its old feudal condition. But that which had troubled De Montford, and made him call to his help Knights and Burgesses, had, in a far greater measure, troubled the King. He had been checked, despised, insulted, and hurled from his throne by his haughty nobles. He then, no less than De Montford, wished to introduce a power that would act as a balance against their weight. He saw this might be effected in some degree by those new men whom De Montford had summoned. But he did not desire to make them as troublesome as the older part of his Parliament was. He therefore limited their rights. They were not allowed to dictate laws, impose conditions, and remodel government; but were only permitted to report to the King how much money their electors were willing to grant him. They thus became at first the mere purse-holders of the King; and this, their earliest duty, they never relinquished. They never permitted their companions in legislation to impose a tax, or grant a money supply. The Lords can reject a Money Bill, but they never dare think of mending it. This right of rejecting a Money Bill was last exercised by the Lords in 1860, when they threw out Mr. Gladstone's Paper Duty Bill.

The returning Members to Parliament is the democratic part of the constitution of the British

Islands. Blackstone's account of the qualifications of electors requires many corrections now. He thinks Parliament really intended to confine the power and right of voting to the most independent classes. This might have been the case in the earlier periods of our history ; but, since the Revolution of 1688, there has been a constant desire to make the Parliament more and more the expression of popular opinion. We do not think it ever was intended to be otherwise. But society, since the Reformation, has been in a constant state of ferment and alteration. Those classes which originally were too low and too ignorant to know any thing of liberty or privilege, had been constantly growing richer and wiser, and more independent, till at length they began to inquire into the constitution of their country, and to claim the rights which their ancestors, in no higher social condition than themselves, had exercised. They had grown, in process of time, from serfs to landlords ; and, forgetting what they were when Henry III. was King, they justly claimed their citizenship for what they were when George III. had become their ruler, and hence the original demand for a reform of Parliament. The clamor was rising in strength and seriousness for a century ; and, as it deepened in fervor, it rose in demand, till, in 1832, the Reform Bill began a new Revolution in the state. Up to this time the rights of voting, and the places which had the privilege of voting, remained the same as they appear to have been at the beginning. The

possession of a freehold of the value of forty shillings or more per year, was the sole qualification for voting for a Knight of the Shire. The qualification for voting for a Burgess differed, but was generally confined to freemen, and payers of Scot and Lot, and to which, in some cases, Potwallopers were added. Rental was wholly rejected. Then, the boroughs which enjoyed these privileges had become, in many instances, really small villages, or even hamlets, while great towns, like Birmingham and Manchester, were without the privilege. Five families in Old Sarum, and as few in Gatton, could elect two members for each place, while Manchester, with a quarter of a million of people, and Birmingham with half as many, had no share in an election. This was the anomaly which the Reform Bill of 1832 sought to remedy. It did so, by disfranchising the villages, and bestowing their privileges on opulent cities, and, furthermore, by making rental, both in towns and counties, an additional element in the electoral privilege. But this did not satisfy. There still remained on the part of the influential middle classes a strong disposition to extend the privileges conceded. It was, also, the wish of this class, who themselves have always cherished this right, that a vote might be of sufficient value to be desired and preserved by the voter, and not be so cheap as to be nearly worthless. The well-being of the country depends on the sobriety and thoughtfulness of its inhabitants, and education is the proper means to

employ in order to secure this sobriety and thoughtfulness. It is therefore necessary that a certain amount of education should, if possible, be imposed, as part of the qualifications for exercising political power. It has been hitherto difficult to work a principle that has been wholly neglected by the state. But Mr. Gladstone, in 1867, thought that the natural education of the people, by means of newspapers and cheap publications, had proceeded far enough to warrant him in proposing an extension of the suffrage. It was done to such an extent that a suffrage almost as low as it can be, almost universal, is the result. Every one who pays rates, every lodger to the value of £10 per year, who has remained two years in his lodgings, has the privilege of voting in a borough; and every one who has a 40s. freehold, or occupies land at the rental of £10, has now a county vote. Our free institutions keep Revising Barristers—those watch dogs of party—to see that those who vote have a right to do so. The attending to the voters' register is the duty of a barrister appointed for the purpose. He is not eligible for Parliament in the borough or county in which he revises. This is to make him neutral, if possible.

Since the time of Blackstone elections have been shortened, with great advantage to public order and peace; and it is thought by many capable of forming a sound judgment on the matter, that a still further improvement might be made, by distributing

and collecting voting papers at the residences of the voters, instead of at the hustings. This system has been found to answer exceedingly well in the election of Guardians of the Poor; and it has this advantage, that on any scrutiny being demanded by a defeated candidate, such scrutiny can be most readily effected at little cost. The law endeavours to secure electors from the influence of compulsion or violence; but, in the matter of bribery, do as Parliament will, it does take place. It is not long since Sudbury, St. Albans, Lancaster, Reigate, and Totnes, were disfranchised altogether for corruption; and, judging from recent investigations, it seems not improbable that we shall have to import into our statute law, as Lord Brougham thought needful, a little of the severity of Rome, to see if any improvement can be effected.

Lord Mackenzie says, in his admirable volume of "Studies in Roman Law," "That during the Republic severe laws were passed to repress bribery by candidates, in their canvass for election to public offices, not only while the voting was open, but also after the *ballot* was introduced by the Gabinian Law, (B.C. 139.) Only the briber and his agents appear to have been punished, not the persons bribed. This penalty was sometimes exile, sometimes a pecuniary fine, exclusion from the Senate, and incapacity to hold office. By the *Lex Tullia*, (B.C. 63.) passed in the Consulship of Cicero, the punishment of bribery was ten years exile." In

spite of the severity of the Roman laws, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, "all lavished money among the venal citizens of Rome, and the trials for bribery were numerous in the Republic."

It appears from Hallam, that a few years previous to the peace of Aix la Chapelle, (1748) the very striking increase in the wealth of this country, by facilitating bribery, affected the constitution. It enabled the capitalists of that time, "with no other recommendation or connexion than that which generally suffices," to compete with Peers and country gentlemen for the representation of the country in Parliament.

The aristocratic class had long attempted to exclude the rest of the community from the House of Commons ; but, in the reign of George the Second, the sale of seats in Parliament took place like the sale or transfer of any other property.

There is no justification in doing evil that good may come ; but certainly to the bribery of this reign we are indebted for the counteraction of the injurious territorial influence of the country gentlemen.

It is humiliating to think that, to the very lowest motives of human nature, we owe any liberty and progress ; but, among other causes, it is owing to the bribery of this period securing representatives more identified with the interests of the people, that our constitution has of late years so satisfactorily developed itself.

We have had few periods in our history, as a

nation, more prosperous or progressive than this period when the flood-gates of bribery were opened. It was under the rule of Walpole that the seeds of our commercial greatness gradually ripened; and our labouring classes never, for many past ages, "commanded so large a portion of subsistence as in this part of the eighteenth century."

Yet bribery can commend itself to no rational lover of his country; and, happily for our better progress, we seem now in earnest, and have good sense enough as a nation to set our faces against it. It is a sad blot on the English character, in this nineteenth century, that we have not sooner learned better, and that we suffer many of our elections to be turned by money. There is one thing however, that the candidates or their friends who even pay the bribe are higher in character, I am persuaded, than the Act of Bribery would suppose; so also with those who receive the bribe. In stirring times I can readily fancy principle would be found to exist, where in quiet times there is but little appearance of it. Emerson, in his "English Traits," says that Sir Samuel Romilly, a good and true man, bought his seat of Horsham. He said that it was the only independent mode of entering Parliament that he knew.

But, whatever be the accidental good that may have come from bribery, still it is a matter of deep regret that men will soil themselves by taking a bribe. They may be sure that bribes represent only

a sum that the M.P. expects to be returned to him with interest. It may be in honour, money, power, or place; but he certainly does not throw away his money without expecting value received. Therefore I would earnestly again remind you that it is the duty of every man to vote according to his conscience, and to make it a matter of conscience to vote as he deems right, be the consequences what they may. The humblest voter is part of the whole, whose will adds to the majority or diminishes it, and it is the majority who govern. Though there are 658 members, still 40 may be a house; and perhaps that very vote, recorded by the humblest elector, is the vote that sends the right man to the right place at the right time—a man who knows, irrespective of party, how to attend with faithful diligence to his public trust. Therefore, by the agency of a single vote, a good or an evil may be perpetrated for years to come. This is quite within the bounds of the possible, though not the probable, for Bills are read three times in both Lords and Commons, that nothing may be done in too great a hurry, before the Sovereign pronounces his fiat, and makes them the law of the land.

The transaction of business in Parliament is under the guidance of a Chairman in both houses. The Lord Chancellor is one of the Ministry, and is selected by the Premier when he forms the Cabinet. The Premier is selected by the Sovereign; who, by the Sovereign's Commission, generally selects the

Lord Chancellor as Chairman of the House of Lords. The Speaker of the Commons is elected by themselves. He cannot give his opinion on any measure, nor argue, whilst the Speaker of the Lords can. "In both Houses the act of the majority binds the whole." The votes are openly given, and unless there are forty members present in the House, business is suspended, or the House may be counted out, as it is called. It is on this principle that Paley says, "If the Dissenters become the majority, the Establishment ought to be altered."

All progress depends on the men returned to the Commons, for there it must originate, and there it must be tried, and there it must become law. We have no irrevocable laws; we have none but such as can be altered, if the majority wills it. I am aware some of us as we grow older become very conservative. Things have done well in our time, we say; and when we look back we see that many of our younger notions were only follies and ignorance, and we chuckle a little at the good fortune of having had old grandfathers to stick up for the older habits and customs which, in our hot-headedness, we would have kicked to pieces. All this is very well—very suitable in this old time-honoured country; but, nevertheless, a good thing ought never to prevent a better taking its place. Now, for a moment, consider this fact. In Henry the Eighth's time the laws of England were to be consolidated. The statutes, running hither and thither, would require a man whose

life is much longer than human life generally is, to find out all they bid or forbid. So thought the Parliament of Henry the Eighth; but, with all the necessity before us, we have never had time nor inclination to look through, condense, and assort the statute books. No, we pile law upon law, till it becomes a heap of undigested material that wants sorting, comparing, and codifying. If, then, there is one thing more than another worth mending, it is this state of our laws. A few volumes should contain all that is wanted; and these volumes might be in the hands of the people, as well as in the hands of lawyers. The Code Napoleon and the Institutes of Justinian tell us how the thing may be done, yet we shrink to have it done. Labour could be saved, not only in digesting and consolidating the law, but in other things, as in our system of weights and measures and money; but we are so fond of old things we will not change; yet it is hardly less absurd than if we were to say,—What do we want with gravel roads? Silt and mud did for our fathers, and why should they not do for us?

We have now seen how a law is made; it may be well, perhaps, just to follow in simple outline how this law gets into force. The rights of men are well respected in England. You cannot put your hand on any intentional law that is unchristian enough to inflict an injury to any man or class. Dissent of all grades, from Socinianism to Romanism, is at a discount with the churchman; because he thinks he

sees in dissent that Red Republicanism which tends to overturn vested rights ; to disturb peaceful occupations ; to paralyze national energy ; and confuse all the happy conditions of our country. The churchman says,—“Do you not see all moving on quietly and securely, like a well constructed machine, with its wheels and bearings in good order ? Why make a change ?” Though this reasoning is incorrect, inasmuch as it is *ex parte*, we repeat, the rights of all are well respected by the statute law. It cannot but be agreed that the first of all rights rendered to us by our representatives is the right to be taxed. This is a very good right too, if the taxes be laid in such due proportion on all classes as they can easily bear them, and if they are expended properly when collected. The taxes are the motive power of the whole system, they set in motion the whole machine for making laws. The publication of a new law is a thing known to all. The English press—the press of liberty—scatters broad cast over the land the contents of every Act of Parliament. Clause by clause, and word by word, do bills get discussed, before the three Estates make them the law of the land. If a bill does not please the majority of Commons or Lords, it is soon known by the bill being rejected.

The manufacture of our laws is now carried on publicly. Formerly it was not so. The Houses of Lords and Commons closed their doors on all reporters ; and it was only by the force of public

opinion, when the offenders had suffered for publishing reports by imprisonment and pillory, that the privilege of publishing the debates was persevered in, against the will of the Parliament. It would not suit us to have a Caligula, base enough to write his laws so small, and to have them placed so high, that nobody should be able to read them. It did badly with the Romans, but it would do worse with the English. The laws of England are for the many, and when once made are still in a doubtful condition, till they have passed the trial of dispute before the judges of the land. Every judge is thus prepared to give justice in the terms of these laws. His courts are open to the press; his sentences are known and distributed by the press; and his summings up, recorded by the press, are usually masterly evidences of strength of mind and common sense. Such is the impartial administration of law, that when the legal right of the subject has been invaded he will be sure to find a legal remedy. The Englishman places unbounded confidence in his judges, whose logic is felt to be the right use of reason and the perfection of mental training. It is seldom that their conclusions do not carry conviction by simplicity of fact and detail, and show the commonest minds the strength and independence of English justice.

Blackstone, in treating of the Courts of Justice, divides them into those having private jurisdiction and those having public jurisdiction. We shall only consider the latter, which are called Courts of Equity

and Courts of Law. Since our author's time many changes have been made. In his day the Courts of Equity were presided over by the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Master of the Rolls. Now there are seven Equity Judges,—the Lord Chancellor, two Lords Justices of Appeal, the Master of the Rolls, three Vice Chancellors, one of the three being called Vice-Chancellor of England. In Blackstone's day the Common Law Courts had twelve judges, but now there are fifteen, five in each Court. The Chief Judge of the Queen's Bench is, by way of pre-eminence, styled the Chief Justice of England. The heads of the Common Pleas and Exchequer are styled respectively Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The remaining twelve are called Puisne Judges. The Courts of Divorce and Probate are presided over by a Judge of the same rank as the Common Law Judges. The Equity Courts are in Lincoln's Inn, and the Courts of Common Law and Divorce are at Westminster. Of the Courts of Equity it will be difficult to say little enough. Every one knows that getting into Chancery is one thing, and getting out of it quite another.

Blackstone, speaking of the office of a Chancellor, goes back to the times of the Roman Empire. The office of Chancellor seems always to have been one of supervision. In our country his supervision extended to a supervision of all charters, letters, and public instruments of the Crown. To him has been

intrusted the custody of the Great Seal. The seal is double, and is therefore produced by two discs, which are of silver, and not unlike saucepan lids, on the one her Majesty sits on the throne, on the other on a horse. The seal comes out like a muffin ; and, when appended to the acts of the Sovereign, makes an act valid, without further consultation. It can thus, so to say, pardon a murderer, make a noble, or grant a charter.

One wonders that the Sovereign will intrust so powerful a weapon in any hands but his own. It is, however, intrusted to the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Keeper. There never has been a Lord Chancellor and a Keeper of the Great Seal concurrently, and the only difference between the two titles is, says Lord Campbell, that the one is more sounding than the other, and is regarded as a higher mark of Royal favour. Queen Elizabeth, ever sparing in conferring dignities, gave the Great Seal, with the title of "Keeper," to Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Lord Bacon. Objections were made to the legality of some of his acts; and, to obviate these objections, a statute was passed, declaring that "the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being shall have the same place, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction, as the Lord Chancellor of England." During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries various instances occurred of the Great Seal being delivered to a Lord Keeper ; but, since the beginning of the reign of George III., the title of Lord Chancellor

has been conferred, in the first instance, with the Great Seal, and that of Lord Keeper will probably be employed no more.

Henry III., when leaving England to quell an insurrection in Gascony, appointed his wife Eleanor, Lady Keeper of the Great Seal; and she sat in Chancery, and did her duty well enough, till interrupted by a confinement. After churching she returned to her office. Charles I. almost worshipped the seal. He left it behind him at Oxford, and had no rest at York till it was brought him. It would not do for the Parliament to use it; but they, not to be beaten, had another made. It is by law death to him who imitates it, and doubtless old Symonds, whom the Parliament employed to make their seal, would have suffered, if the King could have caught him. James II., when his difficulties began, was in great alarm lest Jeffreys should part with it, and made him reside with him at Whitehall. The day before abdicating, on his flight to France, the King threw it into the Thames. A fisherman's net brought it up again, and the fortunate take was restored into the hands of the Privy Council. Lord Thurlow did lose the seal. Burglars stole it; but thirty-six hours sufficed to make a new one. Afterwards the old Lord slept with it under his pillow. Eldon's sense of its importance made him also keep it in his bed chamber. Once his house was on fire. Hastily rising from his bed his first thought was the seal; he snatched it up, rushed to his garden, and,

to secure it safely, buried it in a flower bed. The old man, his diary says, was so enchanted with the sight of the maids in their scanty dresses handing the buckets of water, and so alarmed for his wife, that in the morning he could not recollect which was the flower bed in which he had buried the treasure. "You never saw," says he, "anything so ridiculous as the whole of the family dibbling the beds with sticks till it was found."

On an accession of a Sovereign to the throne the old seal is not destroyed till a new one is made. The birth of a new seal is a matter of much form and ceremony. The Chancellor claims as his perquisite the old one, which is tapped by the Monarch with a hammer, and is thus considered defaced, or damasked, as it is called. Being silver, and a perquisite, one is not surprised to find it grows larger every time. It was not so with the old copper one. Lord Lyndhurst was Chancellor when George IV. died, and Lord Brougham succeeded soon after the accession of William. Who was to have the old seal? Lyndhurst was Chancellor when the old one became useless, and Brougham was Chancellor when the new one was completed. The King had to settle the dispute, and wisely decided that each should have half, and ordered each half to be inserted in a superb salver, as a present for his Ministers, and a toss settled which should have the obverse and which the reverse. The danger of losing the seal, from going backwards and forwards to the House of Lords

and the court where the Chancellor sits, has made the fiction, that the purse will do as well to exhibit without the seal as with it, and so the embroidered purse stands for the seal in the eyes of the law. The mere delivery of this seal constitutes the appointment of Lord Chancellor, the greatest officer of the kingdom. His office makes him a Privy Councillor, "Prolocutor," or Speaker of the Lords, the appointer of all the justices of the peace in the kingdom, and he is by usage the adviser of the Crown in the appointment of the puisne judges. He is the visitor for the King of his colleges and his hospitals; the guardian of all infants, idiots and lunatics; and he keeps also a watch over the charitable institutions of the kingdom. He has great ecclesiastical patronage, being the patron of all the Queen's livings, which are of great value; these he can dispose of according to his own notions of what is due to religion, friendship, or party. When he has attended to these duties, he has in addition more work to do than any man can do well or quickly. He is the judge of the Court of Chancery. This judgeship was given formerly indiscriminately to laymen and churchmen. The last churchman appointed to this office was Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who was Chancellor to James I. This court of the Lord Chancellor obtained its high place over the other law courts of Westminster during the reign of James I., and was first acknowledged out of a dispute which Coke, the Chief Justice

of King's Bench, maintained against the Lord Chancellor.

This old gentleman was made of very testy materials. He had a strong mind and a bad temper, was coarse in his behaviour, with a matter-of-fact legal brain. He it was who said that the common law was the perfection of reason. Mind you, he was the oracle who interpreted it. He was of a quarrelsome nature, nor did he scruple to break the laws in his private capacity himself. His marriage was illegal; so that Whitgift, the Archbishop, was nearly bringing on him the severest of ecclesiastical penalties. This he escaped; but the Archbishop reminded him, on his being made Attorney-General, of his overweening pride as to his law attainments. Whitgift sent him a new Greek Testament, with the message—"That he had studied the common law long enough, and should henceforth study the law of God." This never stopped his ambition. He lost favour with James I., and in order to regain it, disregarded all family ties; married his daughter to the brother of the Duke of Buckingham, in spite of his wife; clapped his wife into prison because of her obstinacy; thundered law—law into her ears, and justified his conduct by his old song—as Lord Bacon wrote to the King—of law—law.

This is a glance at the character of a man who lived beyond eighty, and left a name which lawyers still highly honour. This indomitable spirit had a great estimate of his own value. He was committed

to the Tower, with Selden and Prynne, for opposition in the House of Commons to the King's rights and prerogatives ; but, instead of being indicted for his speeches, as his companions were, he was charged with the frivolous crime of comparing himself, in an arrogant speech, when Chief Justice, to the prophet Samuel. This mode of proceeding was adopted to prevent Coke deriving the benefit of a general pardon, which was, usually, on the dissolution of Parliament, granted to all refractory members. Whilst in the Tower the King sent to him to tell him that he might have eight of the most learned in the law to advise him for his cause ; but Coke, thanking the King, replied, " He knew himself to be accounted to have as much skill in the law as any man in England, and therefore needed no such help, nor feared to be judged by the law."

In the history of the Court of Chancery it is, therefore, needful to put this defeat of Coke in a prominent position. If Ellesmere, the Chancellor, could obtain supremacy over Coke's court, it is not very wonderful that every other Chancellor would be able to do the same ; but, since that time, the authority of the Lord Chancellor has never been disputed. The quarrel took place on this point of law,—could the Chancellor, in a Court of Equity, give relief, after Coke had given his judgment in the Court of King's Bench. The battle resulted in the defeat of Coke. It was decided that the Chancellor could give relief. Coke's obstinacy led to his

suspension as Lord Chief Justice of England, a title which his enemies said he invented wherewith to honour himself.

The Court of Chancery was partially reduced into system by Lord Ellesmere, and further improved by his immortal successor, Lord Bacon, who has been justly styled Lord Chancellor of Learning and of Law. Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, built up the system of Chancery proceedings on a wide and rational foundation. The judgment of the Lord Chancellor may be appealed against. A suitor can carry his case to the Peers, who give direction to the court to rectify its own decrees. This Court of Chancery takes cognizance of all acts complained of as contrary to equity, and for which no other remedy can be obtained but by the assistance of this court. The plaintiff asks for relief in one way or another, and prays the court to call on the defendant to appear and answer, and woe to that unhappy man who does not enter his appearance. The Equity Courts, Lord St. Leonard says, will give you the thing contracted for, whilst the Law Courts will only give you compensation, if the contract be not completed. This Court of the Lord Chancellor takes cognizance of acts injurious to common rights. Shareholders of a bank may file a bill to have deposits returned if there be any left. Partners, trustees, legatees, bondholders, may find themselves in Chancery in no time, on any dispute concerning their agreements, their trusts, or the interpretations

of wills, or the obligations of contract, which are especially subjects for the decision of this high court.

Having briefly glanced at the Courts of Equity, I shall now direct your attention to what is called the Common Law of the Land. This is determined by the Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, all three Courts of Westminster, which issue writs, command processes, hear the pleadings, try cases, decide issues. In every newspaper, during term time, you will find reports of cases in these courts. Sometimes it will be seen that the judges are considering criminal, sometimes civil cases; sometimes settling a railway dispute; or punishing offenders for crime; expounding wills, deeds, and Acts of Parliament; deciding whether a deed is valid; how money lent on bond is recoverable; how breaking the public peace is punishable. Many of these cases are not set down consistently in any written statute, but depend on immemorial usage, or Common Law; but that makes no difference, they are as binding on the subject as laws plainly laid down in statute.

Common Law, as defined by Blackstone, is the *lex non scripta*, or unwritten law, and includes not only *general customs*, or the Common Law, properly so called, but also the *particular customs* of certain parts of the kingdom, and likewise those *particular laws* that are by custom observed only in certain courts and jurisdictions. Laws which in the beginning were only oral laws, handed uninterruptedly

and indisputedly from 'generation to generation, by tradition, became in time customs of usage, and binding on society. They depended for their existence only on the memory and habits of the people, being so old, nobody could tell their beginning.

Our ancestors had little idea of writing. It is no wonder, then, that at first the memory had to be the storehouse of law. I do not mean to say that the memory did not use hieroglyphics to strengthen the existence of a fact. The old plan in the Court of Exchequer of keeping accounts by means of counters, and cutting notches on tally sticks, shows this method. The large accumulation of these tally sticks, it is thought, caused the destruction of the old Houses of Parliament, when they were burned down in 1834.

These laws of custom are called *leges non scriptæ*, and they contain mixtures of laws from many lands. In the song of Rule Britannia we sing, "Britons never, never shall be slaves." But the components of an Englishman, with his Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman blood, would not leave much for the old Briton to call his own. Blood has mixed with blood, and race with race, till an Englishman is like the boy's old knife, with a new blade and a new haft, and still a good knife yet. We do not appreciate this mixture of race. We are led away by the word Briton. We are all Britishers, and feel those old Saxons, Normans, and Danes, were villians and murderers, who meddled with our

ancestors. The word Briton we feel applicable to all of us ; everybody speaks of himself as such, prides himself on it, and imparts this pride to his children. Yet, if every particle of blood and matter in us were returned to their original owners, there would be very little to give to the ancient Britons. We see how unconquerable is race. Squeeze it, trample it, chain it, burn it, it still remains in idea the same. I do not know how this is to be accounted for. Whether native energy, or the large majority of the conquered, or the natural rise and decrepitude of families by vice, age, wealth, and indolence,—whether these, I say, are among the causes that have become the absorbents, and swallowed up every invader, I do not know ; but the fact stands prominently before us, that every man considers himself a Briton.

Lord Bacon observed that these influences had mixed our language with other words, and that as our language had become richer our laws had become more complete. Brougham had a high opinion of Bacon, and in one of his speeches expressed a wish that every man might enlarge his mind by reading the works of Bacon. When he said this times were bad, so bad that old Cobbett's sarcasm was a keen cut at Brougham. "It's all very well," said Cobbett, "for every man to read Bacon, but I would have the times come when every man may eat *Bacon*." Times that we hope we may speedily welcome. But to return to our laws. A thousand years ago, Alfred found the laws of England such a heterogeneous

mass that he began clearing off as much of the rubbish as possible. Customs he booked and made laws. Alfred, also, by providing courts of justice and by dividing the country into tithings, hundreds, and counties, did much for order and advancement.

As for Edward I., we call him the English Justinian. Edward, 600 years ago, reformed and greatly increased the stability of the laws. Laws unwritten became written. Decisions on cases of law became fixed as precedents, which bind now as then. The solemnity of legal phrase appealed in his courts of justice as now in ours to "Time whereof the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary." Custom pointed back to the times of Saxon freedom that gave rise to the custom. Sir Matthew Hale, as good a Christian as a lawyer, and whose word may be believed, says the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward I. saw more done to settle and establish justice than has ever been done since. Hale wrote in the times of Cromwell. We hope he would not say so if he were now alive. I give you a few brief outlines from Blackstone for a proof of what this King's reign did for England, they are worth remembering :—

Edward I. gave a mortal wound to the encroachment of the Pope. He defined the limits of the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas, so that they might not interfere with one another's jurisdiction. He abolished arbitrary taxes levied without the consent of Parliament. He gave up the King's


prerogative of meddling in private suits. He settled the Saxon custom of fines on a proper foundation. He established the first repository for the records of the kingdom, records older than the times of his father, Henry III., (1272) were deposited by him for reference. He improved the method of watching established by Alfred. He made debtors pay up more speedily than they had done. He had writs put in such terse language, and so much to the point, that they are still the models of our courts. His lawyers, Britton, Fleta, and Hengham, wrote books on laws, that are for the most part law at this day. Still Edward liked his own way, and his nobles, Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger, Earl of Norfolk, had to wrest from him the so-called confirmation of the Charta, which caused Magna Charta to be observed by his servants, and Edward to obey it himself. Magna Charta gave personal liberty, as this confirmation gave security to private property. He assisted the growth of manufactures, by giving premiums and ensuring profits to those who began them. He gave merchants facilities for pledging their lands to secure credit for their mercantile transactions. He had a digest of the doing of his law courts published yearly. This Year Book is still extant, and comes down to the times of Henry VIII. unbroken, a period of 250 years. This work alone deserves the highest praise. The reports are not only histories of justice in those days, but carry us back to days long before his reign.

Every case in his Year Book is only an index to cases formerly determined.

Judges in the days of Edward I. were bound by precedent, as in the days of Victoria. Precedents were then hunted up with the same untiring diligence they now are, to carry the cases of losing suitors, hard creditors, vexed husbands, injured ladies, defrauded landlords. Every suitor wanted his cause to succeed then as now. Human propensities were no less selfish then than now. Thousands of law reports, all calf covered, adorn the shelves of law libraries, as ready reference for the lawyer, and ready arsenal for fray or blow. Not a volume is there but has cost some poor belaboured head severe, intense thought. For what? To serve the cause of self as often as that of right.

These reports diminish not; increasing, they increase to unwieldy size, stamping the character of man with unalterable likeness, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Looking on these volumes raises feelings in my mind of a not dissimilar kind to those which the abbey, in close proximity to these courts of justice, did to the mind of Addison. These volumes are the sepulchre of mighty thought consumed on the strifes and malignancies of man; beacons that are willing warnings to teach the wise of folly oftentimes most foolish.

From the times of Edward III. (1326) to Henry VII., (c. 1485, d. 1509) about 150 years, the disputed titles of the crown, and the wars in France,



gave no leisure for juridical improvement. Blackstone betrays a good deal of pleasure when telling us that to these disputes we owe the loss of France. He thought the trade of kingcraft may, like any other trade, become too large. The business made smaller by the loss of France, our Kings had the opportunity to mind their own affairs the better. The period from Henry VIII. (1509) to the death of William III., (1702) includes two revolutions. These were times truly of great mental activity and energy. Learning advanced rapidly. Science enlarged ideas, which printing seized and distributed. Trade and navigation increased. The discovery of America directed merchantmen to unknown shores, and profitable traffic resulted. Industry made wealth flow in on the middle classes rapidly. The nobles dissipated their estates to rival the opulence of merchant citizens. "The Popish Clergy stood trembling for very existence." The King, by the spoil of monasteries and increase of customs, grew rich, haughty, and despotic. As despotism acquired its greatest height in the times of Henry VIII., so it gradually became reduced to milder limits; till, under William and Mary, it lost its occupation altogether.

The common law of this period boasted of one great and memorable statute of jurisprudence. In the time of Charles II., (A.D. 1679) the *Habeas Corpus Act* was distinctly made law, and gave a man the means of releasing himself from unjust

imprisonment, and of punishing any who might have unconstitutionally deprived him of his liberty. Magna Charta declared no man shall be imprisoned contrary to law. The *Habeas Corpus Act* points out the way to obtain release, "though even imprisoned by King in council."

"It is a very common mistake," says Hallam, and "that not only among foreigners, but among many from whom some knowledge of our constitutional laws might be expected, to suppose that this statute of Charles II. enlarged in a great degree our liberties, and forms a sort of epoch in our history. But, though a very beneficial enactment, and eminently remedial in many cases of illegal imprisonment, it introduced no new principle, nor conferred any right on the subject. From the earliest records of the English law, no freeman could be detained in prison, except on a criminal charge, or conviction, or for a civil debt. In the former case it was always in his power to demand of the Court of King's Bench a writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*, directed to the person detaining him in custody, by which he was enjoined to bring up the body of the prisoner, with the warrant of commitment, that the court might judge of its sufficiency, and remand the party, admit him to bail, or discharge him, according to the nature of the charge. This writ was issued of right, and could not be refused by the court. It was not to bestow an immunity from arbitrary imprisonment, which is abundantly provided for in Magna Charta,

(if indeed it were not much more ancient,) that the statute of Charles II. was enacted, but to cut off the abuses by which the Government's lust of power and the servile subtlety of Crown lawyers had impaired so fundamental a privilege."

When we commenced our lecture we gave a specimen of the Coronation Oath. This was the work of that revolution which brought William III. (1688) to the throne. This period is rich in its gifts of political liberty. It passed the Bill of Rights, limiting the King's power. In it the Lords and Commons conclude thus:—"They do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties, asserted and claimed in this declaration to be the free, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom."

In this reign of William and Mary passed the Toleration Act, exempting Protestant Dissenters from the penalties of certain laws; but the two bulwarks of the Established Church, as Blackstone calls them, the *Corporation* and *Test* Acts, still existed. Public opinion had not then reached the point it has now, of believing that a man may be a good subject although a bad churchman; that a dissenter with a conscience may be better than a churchman without one.

In this reign was also passed the Act of Settlement, by which none but a Protestant, who must marry a Protestant, can possess the Crown. This act threw the Crown into the hands of George I., as

the son of the Princess Sophia, a grand-daughter of James I., the next in succession who held the Protestant faith. It was this statute which provided that the judges should hold their commissions independent of the favour of the Crown, and that they could only be removed upon the address of *both Houses of Parliament*.

Every one knows that justice is best administered by the man who can say yes or no without fear of men or party. Indirect means might sully the purity of our courts of justice, as well as those recognized notorious acts of bribery which have so often defiled our English Parliaments. Happily, as it is, our courts of justice take the highest moral tone that the faculties of man can adopt. The business of the judge is to expound the will of the legislature. The will of the legislature depends on the meaning of words, the reading of sentences, and the spirit of the subject matter, as given in these Acts of Parliament. Every body knows what care is often required to get at their meaning. Blackstone points out some interesting cases where judges have had to use much discrimination. "Words are generally to be understood in their usual and most known signification; not so much regarding the propriety of grammar as their general and popular use. Thus the law mentioned by Puffendorf, which forbade a layman to lay hands on a priest, was adjudged to extend to him who had hurt a priest with a weapon. Terms of art, or technical terms,

must be taken according to the acceptation of the learned in each art, trade, and science."

The context is also employed to explain words of doubtful meaning; thus the preamble is often called in to help the construction of an Act of Parliament. As to the subject matter, words are always to be understood as having regard to it. Thus a law passed in the time of Edward III. enacted that no ecclesiastic should purchase provisions at Rome. It has been held that the word provisions does not refer to the food of the priest, but to the Pope's nomination to benefices, which nominations were called provisions. This statute was a blow at the pretensions of the Papal power.

A law of Bologna enacted, "Whoever drew blood in the streets should be punished with the utmost severity." It took a long time to settle whether a surgeon might bleed a man in a fit in the street. Hence the lawyer has to look at the common sense of the law that he may not perpetrate an absurdity, but keep to the spirit and reason of the law. The Romans kept this in view; Cicero quotes a case. One of their laws said those who left the ship in a storm should lose their interest in it, whilst those who stopped in it should have it as their own property. On one occasion a sick man was the only man who did not leave the ship, and just because he could not. The ship escaped. The sick man kept possession. The law said it was his; but reason and the common sense of Cicero say that the law

was made that men might venture the greatest possible risks to save shipping, a merit to which this sick man could never pretend when he remained in the ship. No one wonders, therefore, that law should sometimes require the corrections of equity, when we see the accidental difficulties that may arise from words, contexts, and subjects of acts used so variously.

In this brief view of Queen and Parliaments, Laws and Lawyers, I have endeavoured to trace from the people—1st, The origin of power developed by Parliament in its statutes and enactments; and, 2nd, The distribution of this power, concentrated as it is in the hands of the judges, who, throughout the length and breadth of the land, give judgments, enforce sentences, and deal with life and property according to law. If I have fulfilled my wish to be intelligible, I have my reward. It must rest with yourselves to look the four volumes of Blackstone in the face and study them. Each volume gives a notion of its contents by a short explanatory sentence. Volume the First treats of the rights of persons. Volume the Second of the rights of things. The matter of this volume seems peculiarly useful to the conveyancer, who has to deal with estates and reversions, deeds and transfers, wills and trusts, purchases and gifts, and all modes of changing property from one owner to another. Volume the Third deals with private wrongs, which we have seen may be settled in the Courts of Westminster,

Exchequer, and Lincoln's Inn. Volume the Fourth treats of public wrongs—wrongs done to the whole community.

I have not touched on the subordinate functions of Government, whose functionaries are known to us all—the rosy-faced beadle, the stern tax-gatherer, the active policeman, the sly bumbailiff, the registrar of births, weddings, and deaths, the inspector of weights and measures, and nuisances. These are all placed under instructions, and derive their stations and powers from Parliament which makes the laws. Many offices are made by the magisterial power, which is conspicuous on the bench of Quarter Sessions. After a Corporation shall have nominated its police, the oath is tendered by the magistrate, and the men become officers to arrest crime and stop vice.

The perfection of Government is no doubt seen in the wise execution of laws, but it is no less seen in suitable and discreet education. Self-restraint is of all restraint the cheapest to the community and the best for the individual. Happy shall we be, as a people, as long as we train up our children to understand that their first duty is self-government, as enjoined by Holy Writ and the laws of their country.

## LIFE IN ITS THREE CONDITIONS;

PRIVATE, BUSINESS, PUBLIC.

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### PRIVATE LIFE.

It is a great mercy to man that the broad and unmistakeable principles of self-guidance are bounded by no creed, are disputed by no Christian sect, and are incapable of being refined away into misty subtleties. I say it is a great mercy given by Providence, that we can thus find principles limited, fixed, and adapted to the mechanical organization of man, without having to grope in the darkness of uncertainty.

A mechanician, intent on the management of his machine, knows its capabilities, what it can do, and what it cannot do. Its limits of operation are fixed—fixed at the very moment that the inventor traced the beginning and the end of his design, and brought his machine into operation.

Man may be compared to such a machine, turned out by the Divine contriver, exquisitely finished and fitted for certain ends of being. However, far beyond the machine man may stand as a work of high art, inasmuch as the regulation of part

to part, piece to piece, is intrusted to himself; repairs are permitted to be done under his own inspection; renewals of power and speed are directed and accelerated by his knowledge; and the renovations undertaken under his own auspices, are often the blessed means which secure him from deterioration and final destruction. The great *why* and *wherefore* of this is revealed by St. Paul, when speaking to the most cultivated of intellects—the Athenian intellect; he says, “In Him we live and move and have our being.”

The majesty of this revelation is beyond the conception of man. We cannot measure nor fathom it; but, as the Apostle has said in another place,—“Know ye not that ye are the temples of the living God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you?” There is, then, a great and sufficient reason to try to sound the lowest depths of that mental nature which for ever worketh privately and unseen. I therefore place PRIVATE LIFE the first of my subjects, for out of it grow the most subtle of our passions, and the most determinate of our actions. Companions are around us, but they do not know our mental occupation; they see the house, but know not the tenant; they see the husk, but taste not the kernel; they hear the chaste and modest expressions of the lips, but are unable to know the rapid processes of thought which gild and polish the idea into fitting shape for public view—proper, decent, becoming, and often entirely unreal. Such is the construction

of human society in some places, that speech is rated at the valuation of Tallyrand, useful, because it disguises thought. He said that the tongue was given to man to conceal his thoughts, and was himself an illustrious example of his philosophy. The late Mr. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England," has well observed that, "Men being constrained to mask their thoughts, there arises a habit of securing safety by falsehood, and of purchasing impunity with deceit." How sad a social state is this. No confidence between man and man can grow and blossom in such a soil, where such a teaching is allowed or encouraged. To be bold enough to utter truth at all times and in all places—truth spoken from the heart—is the noblest bulwark of individual and collective freedom. Even as it is—at its best estate—this truth is liable with every one of us to distortion, aberration, and eccentricity. On the one hand, "the heart is deceitful above all things," and is difficult to examine ; and it is, on the other hand, the source of all moral and intellectual progress, for "out of it are the issues of life."

Hence then, of all tasks, the continual rectification of the private moral springs of thought, however great our intellectual progress, is a task the most difficult to attain, and a task which so many of us wholly fail in performing. Charles V., when he retired to St. Just, amused himself with regulating watches ; but found that he was unable to make two keep exactly the same time. Moralizing on this fact,

he said, "Well might it be difficult to keep men in order, when it was so difficult a task to keep a few watches in order." Charles, under no restraint at St. Just, was himself so foul a glutton, that, by the account of his physician, he hastened his own death. Charles might, therefore, have gone a step further, and discovered that keeping others in order was even an easier task than keeping himself in order. To obtain the habit of self-mastery is the greatest of difficulties. I believe every conscientious man, who examines himself, must arrive at the same conviction. Young men may turn on us who are in middle life, and inquire what is there to do? Young men have made such inquiries before. One such made the inquiry of Jesus Christ, and departed as humiliated and sorrowful, as he had confidently and cheerfully entered the lists of public debate.

I am free to confess there seems a good deal of fuss made about self-control, self-examination, self-reliance, and so forth, doing so much for progress; but the fuss is much more than any advancement of these qualities in most of us seems to warrant; and I feel that the man who knows his heart best, knows how short he comes of that standard of perfection which is the measurement of the Christian. A very few questions soon pose me; and if the measurement of what I do, was to be taken as the standard of what I know, I should be found utterly wanting. The goodness of God, however, has been pleased to give us the law of faith and love; and, like a

dutiful child with its loving father, I am willing to believe we all wish to try and act towards our heavenly parent the part of good sons, seeking to please and not to grieve him, that we may be able to give a good account at last.

As "every faculty in one man is the measure by which he judges of the like faculty in another," I do not know that I can do better than name some of those cardinal qualities which Christians of all sects and all parties—High Church or Low, Calvinist or Armenian, Romanist or Methodist, Baptist or Socinian—recognize as qualities that it behoves their creed to teach, and which certainly the good and pious of all times have sought to imprint upon their own characters by private and devout meditation.

The most ungovernable temper in the solitude of the closet, recognizes the value of a good temper in the world. I knew a person whose irritable temper, rising to the fury of a storm at the most trifling annoyance, was supposed by his friends and himself to be uncontrollable from disease, a fever having despoiled the brain of its natural restraint; but, when I saw that person could restrain himself in the company of exalted rank, I thought somewhat differently. Adam Smith says, in his "Theory of Moral Sentiments,"—"That society and conversation are the most powerful remedies for restoring the mind to tranquility, if at any time it has unfortunately lost it." This change prevents one brooding over griefs or resentment, and helps a person to

acquire that equality of temper which is so commonly possessed by men of the world. Let us beware, then, of giving way to a bad temper, and the excuses we plead for it, lest it be only a mask to destroy not only our own peace, but the peace of others. A sense of propriety is naturally possessed by all of us, telling us, if we will be told, that in giving way to violent temper, we do that which is very disagreeable to every beholder, and by so exposing ourselves become objects of natural aversion. The expression of ill temper to one in company, is not unfrequently regarded as rudeness to all present. "The hoarse, boisterous, and discordant voice of anger, even when heard at a distance, inspires us with fear or aversion." It appears that nature, in order to hold society together, has made this unamiable and turbulent emotion of bad temper as disagreeable a passion as magnanimity, generosity, and serenity are pleasant companions, and in which we all have sympathy. The very countenance, however pleasant, gradually suffers injury by an angry and discontented temper, so that it becomes a hindrance to our advancement. I have known servants who have been refused places only because of their bad tempered looks.

Temperance is another quality of mind and heart that is ever suffering violence at our hands. I do not mean merely strong drink, but I mean temperance in all things. Eating, drinking, and smoking, are dangerous in excess, but so is intemperance in study and in business. Prudence must regulate all

these things. To prudence belongs the care and security of health, fortune, rank, and reputation. Amusements, in themselves perfectly harmless, have only to be passed beyond the limits of prudence and they become vices. I knew a very signal instance of amusements becoming too engrossing. Two young companions gave as much time and intellect to chess as another gave to his Euclid. I am not aware they had anything to show for their time so employed. I believe the knowledge they acquired of chess has been of small service in manhood. The elements of geometry have daily been a source of advantage to him who pursued this study. Chess is amongst the most harmless of amusements; what then must be the consequences of those vicious pleasures that ruin the mind and the body, soften the brain, and destroy the free action of the will?

An humble value of oneself and one's attainments is another cardinal quality. I do not mean to say that anybody should think so meanly of himself as to imagine himself to be a very disagreeable person; such a temperament as this would be very likely to beget those creep mouse manners which Fuseli said belonged to Northcote.—“Look at Northcote, he looks like a rat that has seen a cat.” But it is certain that none of us ought to have so much self-estimation as to assume a consequence and superiority that should never belong to any rational being. We accuse others of pride, arrogance, and vanity, when, in fact, too frequently it is our own

proud disposition which has been mortified. Had we only a more moderate estimate of our own merits, and, at the same time, a proper sense of the merits of other people, we should have had no such wounded feelings. He who knows how difficult it is to excel, should highly esteem excellence in others. It is seldom anyone is so perfect in his qualifications as not to have superiors. We none of us have much of anything to be proud of. Pride is a quality of mind condemned by the inspired pen. The truths of two or three thousand years I cannot hope to improve. Truths, if one may say so, become truer as they grow older; as, in the run of ages, experience has added numberless instances to the original deduction. I will observe that pride generally shuts up a man from all serviceable acquaintance with the world around him. It is all very well for men to have smart acquaintances, but what is their service? Why, at last, we have all to come to the conclusion that we depend more on the humble than on the elevated for the comforts and success of life. It is the humblest who can teach us, oftentimes, the best lessons of success. I advise all young men to beware of one thing, and that is, not to treat at any time with disrespect the humblest of their fellow creatures. I have sometimes been astounded, whilst seated at a Board of Guardians, at the disrespectful treatment of those suffering the bitterness of poverty, sickness, and misery, by some ill-natured remarks and disgusting questions from a cur of a guardian.

But I have also lived long enough to see a retributive justice overtaking such guardians, that makes me remind you that if you do treat the poor with disrespect, you will most probably have to pay for that disrespect in a way you little expect. The providence of God is made for the meek and the humble. They are to have the earth, and not the proud. Do a good turn to the humblest, and you know not how often it may be repaid. I am quite aware that there is ingratitude; but it has its measure. Of the ten cleansed lepers one returned to give thanks. If you, therefore, turn out of your way to assist another, do not be very covetous for any return. Be very well satisfied if you can manage to feel rewarded once in ten times. The scriptures do not deal in many mathematical formulæ, but I think you may very well take this as the ratio for the measurement of all the gratitude that you will get.

Backbiting was named years ago, from the same Divine source, as conferring no benefit on the back-biter, nor on him who has been bitten. The biter gets dreadfully bitten. Nobody likes him. Every body shuns him. Let a young man begin and cherish hard thoughts against his parents, brothers, sisters, and cousins, or any relation he has had to do with, and he will hardly fail to speak against them. Do it repeatedly, and not only will his inner man suffer, but his outward deportment also. His tranquility and equanimity will suffer; his disposition to be contented with the providence of God will suffer;

his thoughts for ever harping on the disagreeable will make *him* disagreeable. There is no need to send such a young man to Coventry, he will send himself there. Backbiting and speaking ill of others weakens affection and family ties. If any kind of family feuds is in existence, encourage a little backbiting, and you will have enmities and animosities eating with cankerous virulence even to a third or fourth generation. What says the voice from the closet? "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God." The virtues which the Christian world should possess are well condensed by the Apostle Paul, when he says, "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

The closet is also a good place from which to view your companionship. The company you like best, as Mason says in his book on Self-knowledge, may tell you something of yourself you did not know before. The same inquiry as to companionship may be pushed a step farther—into the regions of what you read. You see a young man lay hold of a newspaper. Mark how he does it. Those parts that take his attention most, inform you of the state of his moral affections and his intellect. The character of his general reading is a good index of his

thoughts. I am aware sobriety in thought may be so excessive as to beget dulness, or an appetite for lighter pleasures. The mind is like the pendulum of a clock, a swing on one side sends it on the other. Action and reaction belong to mental laws, no less than to material laws. Excite the brain in one part, and another is ready for a stimulus. Knowing students avail themselves of this phenomenon, and, as Dr. Adam Clarke, and men of the same true moral and industrious inclinations have done, are for ever adding to their mental wealth; whilst the uninitiated, feeling wearied by one study or occupation, flee to the beggarly provision of trash and impurity to satisfy the cravings of the mind. The sensual tale, the records of crime and audacity, the pandering novel, the vicious literature written by men and women who, without genius to look into the springs and undercurrents of life, have corruption enough to riot in its vices, and to show them off under the dressing of motley virtue.

The closet may also give one a good deal of knowledge how the game in life ought to be played. Truthfulness, sincerity, and honesty, are wanted everywhere; whilst deceit, and fraud, and lying, are wanted nowhere. The man that winks at anything wrong, will pay dearly for this lenity of mind. There is no mistake greater than to suppose the conscience can do a little sin and not suffer. That little sin is the one weak point. It is the point of insecurity ever afterwards. Besides, it is the very

prolific source of more sins. Could we place our sins under a microscope, we should find how they grow from one class to another ; assume all shapes ; take all forms ; spring from the lips of one to defile the heart of another, with restless activity and unceasing energy.

I would particularly enforce this notion of the sinning of young men, which, if it be a sin of sensuality, frequently produces the one unhealed, unsound part in their moral system. The wound it gives may seem healed, but it is not so. It is always dangerous afterwards, like the bite of a mad dog. It may be years before this sin appears again as a disease or temptation to disturb us ; but, from what physiologists and lunatic asylums tell us of brain diseases, the chances are, it will some time or other reappear, to sully and remind one of former sin and folly. It will be the one weak part of the man that will make him eccentric to his companions, incomprehensible to the world, and burthensome to himself. The wound produced by sin is a moral volcano, ready at any time to burst forth with the same malignancy that it did on the day of its birth. If, then, there is one additional reason to be found stronger than another, to keep the young man from going into sin, it is this reason, that when he sees the folly of his ways and wishes to repent, he is uncertain of the lasting and permanent character of his repentance. You are not certain of yourself.

It is by no means my purpose to take the place

of the pulpit in this address. My only wish is to fix in your minds the fact, that if you desire to advance in wisdom, station, or wealth, securely, it must be by much self-discipline. You must be the schoolmaster to yourself, when the time of an external schoolmaster or usher comes to an end. That is, you must read attentively and habitually, or reading is of no value. You must understand what you read, or the reading does not assimilate and become mental wealth. Not to understand what you read, is like putting good food into a dead man's stomach. You may put it there, but it will never become flesh, blood, hair, nails, teeth, skin, nor brain. The hindrances to understand what you read, possibly may be owing to the style of the author you are reading; but it may also be owing to your inability to comprehend the meaning of words; or, to follow the course of logical ideas; or, to abstract the mind from its trifling inclinations. One of my old friends, a venerable man, a man abounding with information, told me he considered that to learn the meaning of words thoroughly, was one of the most rapid modes to advance in knowledge. I do not say that you are bound to study the meaning of every fine word you meet with. If you find an author, page after page, using very high-flown language, giving you Latin quotations where English would have done equally as well, you may really have a very just suspicion whether such an author is worth the reading. Never be taken by mere sound without sense.

This seems, therefore, a very proper place for me to tell you, that of all the costly qualities a man may possess, not one is so costly as his ignorance. This is a great fact. It cannot be upset. If you mean to try and advance, you will have no more of it than you can help. Ignorance makes men the dupes and fools of others ; it prevents a man buying at the cheapest market ; he never knows whether his bargain is a good or a bad one ; it makes him suspicious, and stupidly do nothing, for the fear of not doing right. I was once present at a railway accident, and I saw a poor woman bleed to death, just because none of us knew at the time that a pocket handkerchief and a stick would make a tourniquet, that would stop the arterial bleeding of a limb. Do not, then, let any of us rely on money getting, or penurious habits, to supply the place of information, for they will not. A man's resources may often depend on his powers of invention ; but that invention can only be satisfactorily developed when in combination with information.

Sydney Smith has very well grouped together some of the things he would have young men know. He says, "A young man should learn what the constitution of his country really is ; how it has grown to its present state. His attention should be directed to the true principles of legislation ; the mischief of bad laws, and the perplexity which arises from numerous laws ; the causes of national wealth ; the relations of foreign trade ; the history

of manufactures and agriculture." The best, handy, cheap and useful arrangement of subjects necessary to be known, that I am acquainted with, is to be found collected in the course of *Chambers' Information for the People*. Any young man who has read these volumes through attentively, cannot be an ignorant man. They will be the best of all books by which a young man, with little time to spare, may push out into study. The mere reading of these books is not study. Study is the act of fixing information, precise and accurate, in the memory. This cannot be done without hard work, repeatedly recurring to the same pages, as was our manner at school. I would here suggest you do wisely to keep your old school books. A few minutes, even in the interval of years, will often enable you to recover valuable knowledge that you have once possessed, but now forgotten. If any one of my youthful hearers fancies he is a genius, and can make progress without labour, he is much mistaken. The miserable folly of such a notion is a sin against himself. Our great men, when little men, worked. They worked so hard, that what they have done are their monuments of greatness. Whilst others slept or fed, they were thinking or reading. When on the green sward at play, do not we all like the manly feeling that we have, before we make a run, a spring and a jump; do not our heights lengthen, our muscles harden, and our lips compress, with the very thought of what we mean to try and do? Such has been the condition of the minds of

those who have burst out with light and glory into public notice. They have long meant to be eminent, and have therefore been content with painstaking labour as the only road to attain it. Where Sydney Smith got it, I do not know, but hark awhile to what he says: "Gibbon was every morning in his study at six, winter and summer. Burke was the most laborious of human beings. Leibnitz was never out of his library. Pascal killed himself by study. Cicero narrowly escaped death from the same cause. Milton was at his books with as much regularity as a merchant or an attorney. He had mastered all the knowledge of his time. So had Homer. Raffæle lived but thirty-seven years, and in that short space carried the art of painting so far beyond what it had before reached, that he appears to stand alone as a model to his successors." This is plain reasoning enough. Sydney Smith has said what we must all agree with. His arch fancy drops a good hint for any vain young man to take, who will not work, and yet wants to pass for some few sizes larger than he is. The following is the recipe:—Let him get some old, obscure, half-forgotten author—read him up, and then quote him. This may give him a chance to pass as a great scholar. He need not have to do with Virgil, Homer, or Milton, but take to reading and talking about *Fracastorius*, *Sannazarius*, and so forth; complain that they are cast most unjustifiably into oblivion; call for a new trial; and then he may hope

to make a little noise "in the crowd, and be dubbed a man of curious and extraordinary erudition."

In this very brief sketch I must leave much undone. I may just say that privacy is the place to determine the object in life that we propose. We know the end of life comes quickly; we want, therefore, to be up and doing. Duty calls us. We can see around us our competitors. These calls of duty range themselves, as you will find, in a very methodical order. There is first this duty of private culture, which I have been discussing. We read in the *Times*, or calendars of the universities, what attainments are in request; it is, therefore, wisdom whilst young to seek to procure them. The civil service examination, now adopted by the country, is what every wise young man will fit himself for. He will then never be a workman without his tools, nor ever be without a chance for preferment.

There is a second duty, that which we owe to our families. It is the nature of man to be a family man. Our business talents are those by which we hope to maintain ourselves in a good social position; but, in addition to our business qualifications, there are demanded of us physical and moral research, in order to learn what conditions are most suitable for an active, happy, healthy household. It is a most weighty obligation for every head of a family, to see that the best conditions of health and culture are satisfactorily provided for each individual making up that family.

I consider that family culture is by no means up to the mark of our present knowledge. The tone of our intercourse may be friendly enough, but our social conversations may be far from being as intelligent and instructive as they might be. Practical and scientific knowledge progress rapidly; but they lie scattered in too few heads, and in too concentrated masses, to be as available as they ought to be for family uses. There are no families that I know of at this time, who are living up to the comforts they might have, nor have they the average amount of health which they would enjoy were this knowledge more diffused among their members. Many of us, daily and hourly, perpetrate acts of indiscretion in relation to our health and strength, that we ought never to do; and all owing to our ignorance of the commonest principles of what the vital force of our frames demand.

Family culture should not only embrace the teaching how to make income go the farthest, and to contribute to the happiness of all who have the use of it, but it should also unfold and furnish rules for securing health of body, of mind, and of estate. The agencies effecting these objects are not sufficiently brought into contact with our households; or, if they are, they are not made of proportional professional importance. There is no training systematic enough. There is not sufficient hospitality practised in home life, to those intellects of speciality who can flash daylight into the minds of others, and

call up new incitements to action. We come in contact with clerical and medical, and sometimes educational training; but there are other specialities of intellect, which may, by the conversations of companionship, be useful to us. Economical, historical, scientific, and art knowledge, might well go along with our religious teaching, and so give immense force to family culture. At this time there is no little ignorance as to household management. There are no very high aspirations, that I can see, among ladies, to be thought good managers.

Yet every range of income wants a high amount of intelligence to disburse it in the best possible way. The surplus of many a man depends on the educated skill with which those insignificantly treated sums called petty payments are disposed of; nay, a higher family culture would not only teach this knowledge, but also insure much greater usefulness in those works of charity and love undertaken by so many of the ladies of modern days. At present, the visits made to the poor, are but very small doses of usefulness, and only because the very elements of economical, scientific, and medical knowledge are not at command.

Nor does the culture of the present day teach those well defined principles that ought to be pursued in the management of the servants of our household. Paley devotes a chapter in his "Moral and Political Philosophy" to the treatment of our domestics and dependents, which we all ought to think seriously

of, and it should never be forgotten. He says,—“We ought to show to those who happen to be placed within our power, or who depend on us, forbearance, lenity, and reserve, in using their service, and mildness in delivering commands.” Another reflection he makes is that,—“Our obligation to them is much greater than theirs to us. It is a mistake to suppose that a rich man maintains his servants, tradesmen, tenants and labourers; the truth is they maintain him. . . . All that he does, is to distribute what others produce; which is the least part of the business.” Each one should feel that he is forbidden to diminish the sum of human happiness, by enforcing unnecessary labour and confinement; or to insult servants by harsh, scornful, or opprobrious language. Nor ought harmless pleasures to be refused. And, by the same principle of not diminishing the sum of human happiness, we are “forbidden causeless or inconsiderate anger, habitual peevishness, and groundless suspicion.”

A higher domestic culture also would take cognizance of the daily spending of the time of the inmates of a family comprising its heads, and children, and servants. All the daily routine of a house should be settled with the view of securing the health and prosperity of all. There must not be too much government, nor too much system, or there will be a risk to that happiness which is largely secured by free and individual action. After duties have been performed, a certain time ought

to be at the disposal of every rational being, with which to do as he pleases. But here I would say, that every possible indirect effort is required from the heads of houses to see that what is likely to be done with spare time is really what ought to be approved. Nature tells us that recreation is required: repose of body to those engaged in active labor, and repose of mind to those using their minds as instruments of labor. It is the wise distribution of these unappropriated parts of life that can alone give to the surroundings of life, a happy and progressive existence.

Another, third duty, is that which we owe to the neighbourhood in which we live. In that part of my address relating to public life, there will be a few hints given you of how this duty may possibly shape itself in your career. Every man's dwelling must be somewhere. Co-operation with others will be constantly needed. Each member of society is continually called on to help in parochial, municipal, and sanitary matters. Strong common sense and careful inquiry are constantly wanted to make this co-operation effective for good. From Blackstone we have seen how co-operation has grown into the making of law, the levying of taxation, and the consolidation of society. All of us know that, in every neighbourhood, as time runs on, improvements are needed, and abuses have to be checked, or social progress will be retarded. I look on this duty to our neighbourhood as a very serious responsibility.

Time, temper, patience, and money, are all required to minister to those ills and accidents incident to the condition of man. In our country we often speak of our artificial condition. This condition is no more than the result of a silent compact existing amongst us to help each other according to our means. I suppose that there is no nation in the world which has such generous laws, or in which there are more people who act from a direct principle of love for their species, and so render whatever assistance they can to promote the well-being of all.

So long, therefore, as we continue to afford assistance to each other on the natural basis of love, gratitude, affection and friendship, so long shall we flourish and be happy. This mutual assistance, when made a principle of action, becomes a common centre of good offices. Mercenary motives may cause an exchange of good offices from a sense of utility, and so society may be made to subsist upon these lower motives ; but society will have so much less happiness than it would have with higher motives. The least amount of happiness will always be found to exist in that state of society where all are ready to hurt and injure one another ; and this injustice to one another, if carried to the last extremity, would destroy society ; but, men acting for their own interests, are now sensible enough to know that their existence depends on observing laws of justice and punishing those who violate them. "All men, even the most stupid and unthinking, abhor

fraud, perfidy, and injustice, and delight to see them punished; but few men have reflected upon the necessity of justice to the existence of society, how obvious soever that necessity may appear to be."

In this natural order of duty to which I have alluded, there follows a fourth duty, that duty which we owe to our country. A considerable study of the history of our country is required by every Englishman, since the history of his country enters into almost every national duty he is called on to perform. As neighbourhood cannot exist without neighbourhood, a union has naturally arisen between them. This further union has resulted in a common agreement of sending members to Parliament. I have said so much about this in my lecture upon Blackstone, I need say no more here, as I shall have somewhat to add to this subject when I talk of public life.

The fifth and final duty is that which we owe to the world; and it may be said to complete the list of duties in our methodical arrangement. All international law, mercantile energy, and missionary efforts, are parts of duty that are sure to demand our consideration in one form or another.

With all these duties before us, and to understand them properly, no time need be wasted; all that we have to spare can be advantageously used. We may draw knowledge from all the social and scientific sources we please, and we shall then have no more knowledge than we require to make

every day life as successful as the objects of *being* warrant us to expect.

I have said nothing of the advantage of early rising. Now-a-days so many young people seem to have a conscientious objection to it, that I scarcely dare say all I would like in its favour. In order to counteract this objection, it is well just to name that the history of the greater part of those who have arrived at anything like eminence, tells us they were no men to waste their hours in bed. I would therefore suggest that you acquire the habit of early rising. These minutes employed in study, would be looked upon hereafter as among the most pleasant and useful of your life.

You will, perhaps, the better remember what I have been discussing, by my repeating in brief outline this part of my subject—Private Life. We have considered the value of good temper; the disadvantages of pride; the rewards of gratitude; the sin of talebearing; the costliness of ignorance; the sins of sensuality and the difficulty of reformation. We have considered companionship and reading, and the value of self-examination in the closet for determining the objects of life. We have also considered the education a young man ought to have; the examples he ought to follow; the course of instruction he ought to adopt. Also, the natural system of arrangement by which all the duties of life may be profitably studied and investigated; and we have considered the selfish objection many have to early rising.

## BUSINESS LIFE.

Now for the bustle of Business Life. The busy hum of city occupations shows life in earnest. Of the hundreds you pass in a day, all seem bent on one design—to accomplish their purposes. It is the very disposition and use of the busy minutes of the day that really complete or mar the purpose of life. Any man who cannot make a minute do a minute's work, is not up to the mark. Any man who cannot habitually complete his purpose without a blunder, is not up to the mark. Any man who winks at a fraud or a lie, is not up to the mark. Any man who indolently suffers himself to be done by a rascal, is not up to the mark. Any man in trade, who is deficient in his knowledge of commercial customs, is not up to the mark. Any man who vexes and angers another, when he can avoid it, is not up to the mark. Any man who cannot control his attention, but suffers his mind to wander from his purpose, is not up to the mark. All life in business consists in effecting the *most* with the *least*, and that is the man to succeed who has the best ability for doing it.

Before I enter at any length on business principles, I beg to remind you that the first element of success is to secure that absolute self-control of

which I have previously spoken, so that you can deny yourself the temptation to spend time and money on your desires. All the faculties you have may be in fine proportion, and make you clever among your companions; but they are really of no use but to hasten your ruin, if you have not the power of self-control.

No young man is fit for a master who cannot greatly restrain and govern his desires. The want of control of one's-self in one thing, is but the want of control in another thing. Every pound a man saves, represents a pound's worth of denial and temptation that a man has overcome. I would say to you young men, never get into debt; no, not for a day nor an hour. Every young man ought to dread debt as he would the cholera. He ought, from the first day of his apprenticeship to the last, to make his money hold out until he has more supplied him. It is not long since we were living in times of panic and pressure, much of which were brought on by extravagant private expenditures. If the lives of the men who figure in bankruptcy were traced from youth upwards, you would find them generally to have been thoughtless, extravagant people. Extravagant youth produces extravagant manhood. The Robsons, Waughs, Stevens, Coles, Pauls, Redpaths, Brights, Pullingers, Sadleirs, Higgs, and the "chiseling" Halls, are all developments of imperfect education. They coveted the splendour and position of wealth, regardless of the

means by which they were secured. I say imperfect education, because *morals* have been disregarded, and *conscience* violated, by the appetites of a sensual kind obtaining mastery over the mind. When I went to school—a public school—one of its great advantages was the self-restraint that it taught us. We had at that school a boy we nick-named “Tarts.” He could never pass a confectioner’s window without casting a fond glance at the tarts. Every penny he got went for them; but the public opinion of the school happily made him and his tarts the ridicule of the school. The shilling’s worth that he was said to have devoured at one eating, made him so ill that the doctor despaired of his life. He, however, recovered, and mended his habits. The name sticks by him still. “Old Tarts” has made a better man from this discipline than might have been expected, because correction in his early youth produced its own remedy, and happily its own repentance.

This self-control, or, as Adam Smith calls it, “self-command, is not only in itself a great virtue, but from it all other virtues seem to derive their lustre.” It is with this quality alone that we can act with cool deliberation in the midst of danger and difficulty; and, when in any way discouraged by malignity and ingratitude, it is our best friend in preventing us retaliating in a manner that violates propriety, decency, and dignity. It is vain and weak men that have no self-command, and who mistake and think a bullying manner shows spirit.

"A bully tells many stories of his own insolence which are not true, and imagines that he renders himself, if not more amiable and respectable, at least more formidable." It is with this habit of self-command that a wise man supports with propriety "his conduct in health and in sickness, in success and in disappointment, in the hour of fatigue and drowsy indolence, as well as in that of the most awakened attention. The most sudden and unexpected assaults of difficulty and distress never surprise him. The injustice of other people never provokes him to injustice. The violence of faction never confounds him." Adam Smith distinctly warns us all, that the greater part of the misfortunes of mankind arise from not having self-command, or control sufficient to be contented when well off. Many a man foolishly plays a game of hazard, when attempting to change his situation, by staking everything against scarcely anything. He acts as the tombstone describes a man to have acted, who wished to mend a tolerable constitution by physic.—"*I was well; I wished to be better; here I am.*" Self-command, like all other habits, can only be obtained by exercise and practice. "Hardships, dangers, injuries, and misfortunes, are the only masters by which we can learn it; but these are all masters to whom nobody willingly puts himself to school."

I lay great emphasis on this single principle of self-government, because if you have it not in these days of close competition, you have only ruin before

you. For, if you have no power to check an evil inclination, or a depraved appetite, what safeguard have you against the perils of a life which is beset with snares and temptations; which gives evil an attractive address, and good, in many instances, a disagreeable one. You must expect a smoky kitchen and a scolding wife, a carpetless parlour and dirty children, filthy beds and broken crockery, grates never cleaned, hearths never brushed, coats without buttons, stockings with holes, collars without strings, dirty blankets, dirty sheets, dirty coverlets, a water jug without a nose, a basin without a side, a kettle with a hole in it, windows broken and stuffed with rags, to prevent the keen chilling winds of winter entering. These are only a part of the diseases that come on and are likely to overtake and irritate a sensuous, self-indulgent nature. Imperfect self-restraint is taken with the first bait. An evening party and a showy girl may do the mischief, and lay the foundation of these household diseases, just as contact may give the smallpox and make it a catching disease. Such a young fellow as this is not like old Cobbett, whose strong practical sense was as conspicuous in his life, as his untamable prejudices in his opinions. He tells us that when he felt himself in a situation likely to afford means to maintain a wife he looked out for one. But he did not search among the prim, delicate misses, who look upon usefulness as a sign of low birth, and are eager to display the delicate hands of idleness, rather than the ruddy

fingers of labor. One morning, as he was riding early to a neighboring town in America, he saw a tidy girl, with health blooming in her bronze face, resolutely scrubbing the steps of her master's house, in the stinging cold of a Canadian winter's morning. Her healthy, glowing, pleasant face at once fixed his wandering fancy. "That's the girl for me," he exclaimed, and she became his wife. Such a girl, on such a morning as he first saw her, and in such a dress, so nice to look on, he had never seen before. He waited patiently till he could afford to marry. He had sense enough to know that he wanted a cage for the bird before he wanted the bird, and so he went diligently to work to save and get beforehand in the world. When he got beforehand he did marry. So may any of you when you have also secured success.

The first business maxim I have to give you is—"learn to save and not to spend." You may have brains for a Rylands,\* a Morrison, or a Rothschild, but they are of no use if you have not this power of self-control. Get only this one quality, and if even you are a little deficient in intellect, you may come to be thought a clever man. If you are thick-skulled,


\* I believe that I am speaking within bounds when I say that the business of this gentleman, who is in the "Manchester Trade," amounts to a larger annual sum than the value of all the timber and deals imported into Liverpool. Nor does the magnitude of these transactions represent the whole manufacturing and trading transactions in which he is engaged. As the owner of four or five cotton mills, one of which is one of the largest in the world, he has to attend to the supply and demand of what these mills daily produce and require. There are not fewer than four to five thousand hands engaged in the various outside works of this great merchant. It requires, to carry on his Manchester business alone, a street of warehouses, and a staff of over five hundred clerks and assistants.

the habit of thrift will put you on your legs, and give you the place Solomon said diligent men should have in the eyes of the world. "Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings." I believe all the promises of God to be true ; but, though some are less ready to believe, the most sceptical never doubt the truth of this proposition. This *care-taking* of money is that which begets the habit of taking care of time. This principle causes the Sunday clothes to be neatly brushed and placed away for another Sunday ; secures good and useful purchases of useful things ; books get read as well as bought ; it makes men pay their debts as soon as they are contracted ; it controls private expenditure and upsets all sham and display.

This care-taking principle would wholly alter the statistics of the bankruptcy courts. Now, one half of the failures that take place may be said to occur from more being spent in household charges than there was any reasonable hope that the business could or would pay for. Almost every case shows in the courts a profit, but not enough for the spendings. Having, then, this element of thrift and carefulness, economy and frugality, I again repeat, you have the foundation for all success in life. Providence has fitted men for very different situations and stations in life. Some are to be the stewards of one talent, some of ten ; some are to be called on to maintain only themselves, some to maintain their twenty. The object of youthful life is to develope, train, and

direct this material and mental nature of ours, that it may succeed in whatever state it may be called on by duty to fulfil. In most of our social conditions men are compelled to labour, and by the sweat of their brow to eat the bread of carefulness, and thus bridle in and chain down their mental nature to the active duties of life. Whether a man maintains two or twenty persons, some kind of business training is needed to make him succeed. I shall briefly run over a very few of those elements that are the general distinctive marks of successful men. They vary in amount. In some, one quality preponderates; in others another; but, as they are all good qualities, though different, they only alter and vary the amount of success attained.

Besides thrift and economy, or no waste, judgment is wanted. Judgment is that quality of mind that presides over and directs all schemes from the beginning to the end. It weighs up and calculates the forces that every proceeding, action, or scheme requires. It guides the passions and directs the next excellent quality of success—energy. Hence aim at securing a sound judgment; for if prejudices take possession of the mind, they are hard to eradicate, and a great hindrance to success in life. They cause continually erroneous action. They are always growing within us, partly from the obscurity and difficulty of finding out truth; partly from appearances being in themselves so often delusive, and intentionally made specious to deceive the credulous



and unwary ; and partly from that natural laziness, or self love belonging so much to all of us, which will give itself little or no trouble to free itself from the authority of fashion and custom. Cicero observed in his day that "The authority of those who teach is a frequent hindrance to those who learn, because they utterly neglect to exercise their own judgment, taking for granted what others have judged for them." The more we examine our notions, opinions, motives, and inclinations, the more shall we find them so biased as to obstruct the soundness of our judgment, running us continually into the regions of dogmatism or scepticism. All of us insensibly are so magnetized by errors of conception and predilection, as to be scarcely of sound mind, and perfectly free to act as we ought to act. A writer speaking upon this subject gives the following forcible illustration :—"A watch-maker told me that a gentleman had put an exquisite watch into his hands, that went irregularly. It was as perfect a piece of work as was ever made. He took it to pieces, and put it together again twenty times. No manner of defect was to be discovered ; yet the watch went intolerably. At last it struck him, that possibly the balance-wheel might have been near a magnet : on applying a needle to it, he found his suspicions true : here was all the mischief. The steel works in the other parts of the watch had a perpetual influence on its motions ; and the watch went as well as possible with a new wheel. If the soundest mind be

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*magnetized* by any predilection, it must act irregularly."

It is for want of cultivating this part of our mental nature—a sound judgment, that so many of sanguine temperament are brought to ruin, from not knowing how to regulate or restrain their sanguine projects and anticipations by prudence.

Energy, to which I have referred, is the life-blood of all business. Energy is the rapid pulse of fever that destroys life by its impetuosity; but guided and restrained is the great agent of success. Energy, however, wants strength of body, or a power of enduring fatigue. Minds in weak bodies have difficulty to sustain long continued efforts. Physical strength, conjoined with this active energy, has given our English nation its superiority over other nations. These unitedly make the men who have more talents than one or two entrusted to them for use. Be careful, then, to have no habit that runs away with your vital forces and impairs your energy. Sabbath breaking indulgencies, smoking, drinking, and the gratification of other passions beyond the limits of temperance, greatly destroy energy, damaging your physical, intellectual, and moral qualifications for business, and bringing on premature old age.

Emerson has well said, in his "Conduct of Life," that concentration may be made very greatly the secret source of energy with many. Concentration stops all miscellaneous activity, and directs our

force on one or a few points, "as the gardener, by severe pruning, forces the sap of the tree into one or two vigorous limbs, instead of suffering it to spindle into a sheaf of twigs. . . . The one prudence, therefore, in life, is concentration; the one evil dissipation. . . . Only so can that amount of vital force accumulate which can make the step from knowing to doing. No matter how much faculty of idle seeing a man has, the step from knowing to doing is rarely taken. . . . I hold that an economy may be applied to this energy. It is as much a subject of exact law and arithmetic as fluids and gases are; it may be husbanded or wasted. Every man is efficient, as he is a container or vessel of this force; and never was any signal act or achievement in history but by this expenditure. Energy is not gold, but the gold maker; not the fame, but the exploit."

Another valuable aid to success is having a good address. A good address makes friends, which uprightness and probity are sure to keep. A manly, truthful, obliging youth has his fortune born with him. He has only to keep his education up, so that he does not become His Emptiness, Mr. Pert, and he will get a continual accession of friends. A good address implies a good degree of *tact*, a faculty called, for its importance, a sixth sense. Tact is the great agent by which quarrels are avoided, plans developed and made successful, and enemies converted into friends. It is that quality of the mind which

perceives in the primary exhibition of a feeling or a prejudice, its secondary effects. It essentially looks at the coming through the present. It is a kind of domestic or mercantile second sight. It deals with that part of event which casts its shadow before; and, like a weather clerk, lifts up the drum against a storm. It is able, by this gentle gift of foresight, to prepare and temper the mind it influences to what is coming, and to run in the groove of a prejudice, or moderate the hardness of an opinion, by wearing it down with gentle friction. I am aware the ladies lay claim to a good deal of this quality, which they use so advantageously in domestic government, that some young gentlemen may think it beneath their notice to acquire it; but they are much mistaken if they have any such notion. Tact will often persuade a man against his will, and so time the occasion of a request as to secure a consent, but little short of the impossible to obtain. Beware, then, young gentlemen, of your address. The first impression is often the very thing to make or mar you. Hours of intelligent conversation, that show your good sense, will not do away with dirty hands, dirty nails, dirty teeth, dirty clothes, and the want of tact. I verily believe an angel's tongue, in some slovenly human frames, soliciting the highest favor a marriageable lady can give, would scarcely secure success. No young man likes, when he proposes marriage to a young lady, a *no*, when he is dying for a *yes*. Then take care of

your address. I will add here, if it is possible never lose a friend. Some young men always leave their employers in an unfriendly manner. Were you to keep all your faithful friends, you would never find God had given you one too many. Make every master who has employed you your friend, to whom you can refer for a character, and also as a friend, if need be, to advise you.

In association with thrift, judgment, energy, and address, may be placed a fifth quality, that of nerve, or resolution, or decision of character. You may have every good quality, and yet they shall be useless without this most useful of qualities. There is little success without it. The best plans are often laid on the shelf unexecuted, when it is wanting. I need not go into any lengthy particulars about this quality, for there is one writer to whom I may refer you for the fullest detail. John Foster, the Essayist, in his "Essay on Decision of Character," handles this quality as an expert anatomist handles his scalpel. He finds pleasure in dissecting character, and emotions, and actions. He dives into those hidden causes which make one man resolute and another irresolute—one a cannon ball and another a bouncing india-rubber ball. This is the best of all books that I know of, for proving that "can't-be-dones" are often abominable lies. I would have every young man, when in a fix, take from this author a dose of his moral tonic prescriptions. It would be sure to strengthen him. His illustrations

are worth looking at. He takes a Cæsar crossing the Rubicon, who may have passed hours in deliberation, but whose final act is noble nerve and resolution, courage and decision. He instances another, the gambling, prodigal profligate, turning his sad eye on those loved fields he had once called his own, before destroying himself. The view of that fair estate changed the man. To die, he feels unworthy of himself; to live, and be resolved, is gain. He planned, he executed, nay, no labor was too humble. His first act, was for a few pence to wheel and shovel coals from the pavement to the cellar of a house. He seized every opportunity to work and save. No employment was too servile, no day too long, nor any work too mean that would pay. Gradually pence became pounds, pounds became cattle, and cattle became fields—his own green fields regained. Resolution made this man a noble instance of heroism; but that is not all, for it had also made the heart of the man a stone. He became a miser. His £60,000 had become his god. None of you, I hope, will become misers.

Hone, in his "Every Day Book," names another striking instance, which occurred about a hundred years since, of what resolution and decision of character will effect. A man named James Woolley, of Loscoe, a small village in Derbyshire, when young was fond of shooting. Detected at his sport, without a license, he had to pay a fine. He was so annoyed and exasperated at the fine, that,

though only a poor clock-maker, he resolved never to cease from labor till he had means enough to carry his gun without being liable to a penalty. He succeeded, that he amassed a fortune of over £20,000 ; but, in saving it, he lost all relish for the sport ; he became much fonder of clock-making than he had ever been of shooting. His habits of saving had left him also with little disposition to be liberal ; but still he is remembered for one piece of liberality that was useful enough in its day. He made a clock and gave it to the Corporation of Nottingham for their Exchange, and was made, for this act of generosity, a freeman of the town.

A life without generous emotions, resolves and actions, is not a life worth living. Selfishness you all hate in others ; and what you dislike in others, you know, if you are wise, you will avoid. To have few wants, and those only simple ones, is the best recipe I can give you. In passing, I would warn you, though it may appear paradoxical, that the intensity of selfishness is also to be seen in the intensity of prodigality. Foster gives several instances of the power of resolution to make better characters than the miser. Such men as are our Howards, Wesleys, Whitfields, Peabodys, Careys, Williams, Clarksons, Wilberforces, and, I may add, Livingstones. Men whose steps have never wandered from their designs, nor who have suffered their intense energy to languish by the thought that they had done enough for their brethren.

My limits will not allow me to touch on these essays of Foster at greater length. I can only say that you have one element of greatness—decision of character—discussed in this book, ably and nobly, by a thoughtful and painstaking mind. If you choose to read it, it will lead you to value not only resolution, but also caution. You will be suspicious even with the best chances of success that you may not succeed, and you will be ready for your unsuccess. But success in that which you undertake is the one thing needful in life. I cannot lay too much emphasis on its importance. However well you may direct your efforts, and receive compliments for these efforts, they are nothing unless you succeed in that for which you put forth these efforts. It is a law of nature that success shall be the one object worthy to be obtained. Anything short of success will not do ; and hence it is that we all of us have a sort of feeling of commiseration, or pity, towards him who tries to succeed but has not succeeded ; whilst towards the successful we have that higher class of emotions of pleasure and sympathy for his success. The reason is that, anything less than success will not do for getting on in the world. If we had as much sympathy for the best directed efforts of unsuccess as we have for success itself, we should soon become content with a lower level of effort and purpose. Nature, true to her intentions, will have always the best of everything come uppermost. And success in human affairs is the only test she recognizes

within the breasts of all of us as being worthy of a first place in our emotional nature. This worship of success is often, apparently, at the expense of the principles of justice and equity, also planted within our breasts. Of two candidates for honor, why should not he who has done all that he could do to succeed, be in as high esteem as he who even with less effort has succeeded? Justice and equity would pronounce them both equally worthy of regard; but still those human feelings which attend the actual consequences of actions do not place men on an equal footing; they favor the successful candidate; and for no other reason, apparently, but that the world may be governed by vigorous actions, rather than be destroyed by self-indulgent indolence. Hence, if you are prudent, you will have your eye upon the consequences of success and unsuccess, and so have a front door by which to enter on your undertakings, as well as a back door by which to retire, and to leave them in case they do not succeed. Your object must be to lose as little of your recuperative force as possible; for, if you lose heart and dwell on your mischances, you have a serious check on your future progress.

I have said that nature will have the very best of everything come uppermost; and in order to effect this, there seems to be a curious law at work in nature to hasten the destruction of unsuccess. In the decay of the prosperity of a town it is remarkably seen. Trade becomes bad, as it is called, or rather

limited in extent, as population decreases. Tradesmen, therefore, compete with one another for this reduced business by diminishing their profits. Their expenses remain about the same, being exceedingly difficult at all times to reduce. It is bad enough to have a smaller business even, with good profits ; but it is a much worse condition of things to have a smaller business and less profits produced by this principle of competition. Yet such is the case ; and merely, as far as I can see, because nature will have decay itself to perish in a more rapid ratio, that what is left may again be placed on a successful footing in the least possible time. It really seems to be a law of nature, operating almost with the precision of a geometrical series, to thrust down that which is decaying and valueless, lest it should encumber the progress of mankind. A man will find that, immediately he ceases to succeed, he is encompassed with a new series of forces, or difficulties, pressing forward to destroy him, or to place him in a lower position, where he may be more successful in the struggle of life. Men with more energy, or more integrity, or more judgment, or more knowledge, or less credulity and enthusiasm, are ever ready to take his place. Nature insists on having a natural aristocracy, in order that progress may continue.

This law of rapid decay is also seen immediately to operate in many different directions upon those businesses which are not up to the mark. Manufacturers, who in any way get placed at a disadvantage

with respect to other manufacturers, by the want of conveniences or skill of some kind that others have, are obliged immediately to take greater risks to keep their footing. It is not that they only pay a trifle more in the manufacture of their goods, or take a little more labor in selling them ; but another serious force comes into operation against them, to run them off the stage of competition. They have to incur more bad debts, by taking trading accounts of greater risk than those parties who do their business on better principles. They must sell to keep their manufactory going. They cannot exist without profits ; and, to make them, they take these greater risks, which ultimately destroy them. Hence, to be secure in your business, you must not be inferior in anything to your rivals ; or, forces in a geometrical series, perhaps equal to the ratio of the square of the difference between the best and the worst, will hurry you off the stage of competition. I say this ratio, because so many things in nature are affected by about this kind of proportion,—a proportion far beyond that of a more orderly arithmetical series.

Supposing, however, anything may make you unsuccessful in your undertakings, and you fail or fall in your worldly condition, do not be surprised or disappointed at your friends cutting you, as it is called. Ever remember that most positions in life are held on the tacit compact that “you keep your place socially, and I will keep mine.” I would have you well consider the consequence of any imprudence

on your part, for if failure should overtake you, you really are not the same person you were, and have, therefore, to look out for new friends and acquaintances for your new condition of things. Of course there are some friendships which are fixed on different bases, but on whatever basis fixed, if you fail in life, you come under what Herbert Spencer would call another set of correspondences. You must always look for the same kind of seed that you sow, and do not, therefore, expect to have a different kind of fruit from the same seed. The logic of events will teach you that God's rectitude is not man's rectitude. God has no bigotry in his management of affairs. He leaves bigotry for us poor mortals to use, probably to secure to us, by its use, distinct and stable characters. His providence interferes with no principle of action much beyond that principle of action. A man is punished for his drunkenness, and that only. If he should be sound in all other particulars, in all other particulars he will act well. A pious man in a failing business will fail in spite of his piety. Piety will avail him nothing. There is a tendency for us to think that a special Providence will interfere for the benefit of a good man in a false position ; but such a notion is wholly wrong, and not in accordance with that which the logic of events teaches. A wise man will never presume on any such a dependence, nor give much credit to chance, for there can be nothing like chance in Providence. If a man has failed in

life, there has really been a cause for it, and little or no chance in the matter. The maximum and minimum of chance are measured by the minimum and maximum of ignorance. No effect exists without a cause; and your condition of failure is, probably, owing to your having neglected to use your intellectual powers as you ought to have done. He who knows most about tracing effects to causes, knows most how to avoid mischances. The inspection and investigation of all natural phenomena tell us how all consequences have been anticipated, measured, and arranged. The same analogy holds good with mental phenomena. All mind-workings have their limits. Every mind in relation to other minds is a separate force, and acts as a cord pulling in one direction, against other antagonistic minds pulling in another. The wonder really is that, with a world so much pervaded by the very lowest of motives, that we have all the proceedings of the human race so toned into harmony as to render the world such a good, passable world as we have to live in.

But in giving advice on this subject of failures, I must remember that men cannot run away from their organizations. What they uniformly do may be considered the equation of forces, and a measure of that which they will always do under similar circumstances. Sometimes spasmodic exertions may alter conduct for a little while, but not for any length of time. A timid man will, as a rule, always be timid; a bold man will always be bold. A man of

quick perceptions will be impulsive, whilst he who is of slow perception will be phlegmatic and slow in action. It is wisdom, therefore, in any man, to think upon those means which will best protect him against himself. From general observation on the actions of men in life, I am persuaded that there are compensations in the characters of most, by which all may be expected to hold their positions in life, and so far be successful. What may be considered the constants of life, on which the maintenance of life depends, are what every person of ordinary ability has within his reach to obtain. Though so many requirements in life recur daily, yet every one may do them from habit and practice, as well as such things require doing.

You cannot, therefore, be too cautious in commencing proceedings from which follow success or unsuccess. Yet it is a singular fact that caution is much overlooked. Providence, however, by the severe penalties it imposes, undertakes to be the schoolmaster to teach it. Certain kinds of business requiring the greatest caution, seem to have those only employed in them who most neglect it, as the needle makers of Redditch and the grinders of Sheffield. It is said that few of either of these workers live over forty or fifty. Sailors, in manhood, are frequently most reckless. I do not know what they would do if it were not for the alarm that the great big waves in a heavy sea give them in their boyhood. The sense of danger, happily, like our

other senses, is most acute in youth. Nor must this sense of fear be despised, since by it alone are the habits of caution formed. These habits long survive the feeling of danger; but it is to these habits that have been formed, and which have survived every attack of age, that the sailor daily and hourly owes his protection. The wreck register tells us, for want of caution, how great are the losses of lives and shipping. In the year 1856, out of 1,153 wrecks, there were only 44 lost by hurricanes, 77 by storms, 147 by moderate gales, and 184 by strong gales. The total 452 are all that really ought to have been lost, the remainder 701 vessels, it is thought, ought not to have been lost. Common care, human prudence, and cautious preparation, might have saved them. So at least one infers from the high authority—the Board of Trade. This is a great lesson for a business man to ponder. He is not a sailor, but he is a man, and so is the sailor. The infirmities of the sailor only teach us the infirmities of men generally. Every man seems born with a mean average of errors, which he will be sure to make in a given number of transactions. Education, attention and care, no doubt lessen the number; but these mistakes will, if one may say so, occur naturally. Carelessness, however, will greatly increase the number of blunders, and it is for this reason that a habit of carelessness seems in Providence only to be corrected by disaster, pain and disease. Knowing the consequences, we use caution, which is thus seen

to be a most valuable quality of the mind. It weighs *pros* and *cons*, takes time to think, notes its thoughts, assesses the value of each thought, and then gives the verdict,—action or no action. It is this quality that accumulates wisdom with years. It makes a man know of what he and his pocket are capable. Certain kinds of business want certain amounts of capital to work them, just as much as a certain amount of style in dress and liveries, tigers and equipage, want a certain amount of income. Caution induces inquiry, and prevents large risks being encountered. Caution helps a man to select a good wife, and avoid bad debts. Caution helps a man to secure a business, and avoid extravagance. It teaches a man to look at his failures, and blame himself. Therefore, I would have you manfully face all your errors and blunders, inadvertencies and losses. Whatever experience I may have had in business, I would observe that unsuccessful affairs, selected from those in which I have been successful, have been the most instructive. Planting a factory in an agricultural district; fixing a steam engine or two; educating all my labor, and trying to secure a profit, have been difficulties that have never ceased to require care and caution, lest I might lose large sums of money.

It has been a custom with me to keep a minute book, a book in which I scribble, instead of using loose papers. I care nothing about regularity, all I want is the power to bring back an old thought when

it is wanted. A figure or two, or a short minute of my proceedings, will often do this. A book preserves the thoughts, which a scrap of paper probably would not. Turning over the pages of a few of these books, I give you a brief view of these inadvertencies. The first of them was putting the wrong men in the wrong place, men who in one position could withstand temptation, but in another were unable to do so. Men who have been honest servants with their master's eye on them, but without it have become thieves. The next of my mistakes was putting up an engine with a boiler that burnt too many coals for the work it did. Modern improvements make it impossible for old fashioned notions to compete with new ones. Experience here served me, for my next boiler did twice as much work with no more fuel. Another failure told me not to buy things because they were cheap. Old machinery may be good, but new is usually better. Economy may be based on a false principle. In building, also, I learned cheapness and convenience is not everything. Leasehold land frequently compels one to use timber, or forfeit the buildings of brick. Timber does not answer so well as brick. Fire, wind and water, have told me so many times. I would have the incidence of this law of leasehold altered, giving every inducement to the occupiers of such property to enfranchise it, that they may erect good substantial buildings.

No man is so wise as not to need experience

and warning, nor so secure that he can presume to do without them. Caution, therefore, is the kind of sense that hunts up and stores whatever is likely to be useful in business.

Whilst writing this lecture I turned up in one of my minute books, to which I have referred, the following short and simple suggestions, by which any man may become a good servant as a clerk; and really, now-a-days, there is no telling what vocation a man may not take. One of my most efficient clerks was a carpenter from the bench. Another was a factory youth. Give me honest, intelligent, and industrious material—mental material I mean—and it can be made to succeed in almost any trade and in any place.

The young men to whom these instructions were directed have attained very good success as clerks. Every young man may use them advantageously.

1. Try to acquire and use unostentatious manners.
2. Be faithful; your first duty is fidelity to your employer.
3. Cultivate amicable arrangements with all.
4. Be punctual in your attendance to business.
5. Be worthy of confidence being placed in you, by disclosing on no account any secret.
6. Guard correspondence with the strictest privacy.

7. Be prompt and quick, and have no backward work.

8. Give respect and subordination to your superiors.

9. Have method with your papers, to find what you want quickly.

10. On no account overdraw your salary, sooner leave a portion in your employer's hands.

11. Pay as you go.

12. Dress as a gentleman, not as a fop.

13. Write distinctly ; a master may afford to write badly, but a servant never.

14. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. As merely a day of rest and repose, it is invaluable for the recreation of energy that it affords to the physical and mental condition of the human frame.

I would add a further piece of advice :—Do not, on any account, after promotion, let pride prevent you continuing your duty of doing and attending to little things. I have known young men, when promoted, make the great mistake of overlooking those matters which have secured their promotion. Instead of trying to do more, I have seen them try to do less ; assuming a self-importance that is anything but creditable to them, and a great hindrance to further advancement. I would also suggest to the younger men who aspire by economy to become masters, never to use a piece of mahogany when a piece of deal will do. In this suggestion lies a principle of wide application in life. These instructions, if

followed, will help to make good servants, and as such, also good masters.

Many of you I hope to see in business on your own account, and as to your system and method of conducting it, I will observe that, that system or method is generally the best which is best attended to. Some of you may like to know mine, and as such I will briefly give you what may perhaps be new notions. Having used them successfully for a number of years, I venture to lay them before you, that you may adopt and improve such as appear suitable for your circumstances and interests. The first of these "new notions" is having a Daily Report. This report gives a full epitome of a day's business. I do not believe in back work, nor will I have it; consequently, you will not wonder that I have been thought as obstinate with my creed as a Papist is with his. This Daily Report is now before me from three separate parts of the kingdom in which my business lies. They all tell me my debtings—that is, how much I daily get into debt, and my sales, by which I live. They also give an abstract of all letters and replies. A single sheet of post tells me the cash I have had paid in by my customers, and the amount that has been paid out by my clerks. This report does not talk about credits and debits, but simply of payments "in" and "out," just for all the world like a lady's house-keeping book. Every day the state of the cash box is rendered along with the bank balance. Now, you

see, a man cannot possibly be wide of the mark if he knows the amount of all he owes and what other people owe him. If he knows this daily, surely by simple addition he may know the amount of each weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly. We so apply this method, for each day these reports are entered in a book of money columns. On the top of each column stand the words "debtings"—"sales"—"cash in"—"cash out." This word "debtings" I invented some ten years since, for the purpose of denoting the act of getting into debt. I know of no single word in our language but this that represents this act of the trader. We have only to add these several columns up, and we know all that book-keeping, without stock-taking, is capable of telling. This Daily Report contains a complete history of a day. In it are named short abstracts of letters received and answered ; letters asking for money and orders ; letters rectifying errors and blunders, and lists of calls and engagements ; the time also of the attendance in the morning of each of the clerks is recorded. This Daily Report is the first wheel in the system. The second is the book in which its daily results are entered ; and the third wheel is the book of all books for the eye of the master—the "Fact Book." A Fact Book should be a temple of truth ; but, like all human productions, it is at best only a series of approximations. It holds as much truth as I believe it to be possible to obtain, and for this reason duties finished daily, leave but little for the memory to

supply. The eye of the master quickly detects an error in a transaction in which he may have himself played a part.

This Fact Book of mine contains the totals of every month's business added up, ready for addition again at the end of the year. In collecting these facts together for the book, we use a new plan of book-keeping that I have introduced, which I think could often be used with advantage, from the facility it affords of condensation. We affix the mathematical sign of minus (—) to any amounts that may be considered negative in relation to others that are positive, as in algebra and analytical trigonometry. We get by this means one column to exhibit all the results of a complicated debtor and creditor account. We have found the following mode of writing the negative sign the best. Place the amount in brackets thus [    ], affix the minus sign to the left within the brackets [— ]. The following arbitrary sum is stated as an example: [—£5 " 2s. " 6d.] This notation leads to few inaccuracies. We do not find any great trouble in adding up "plus" or "minus" quantities together. This Fact Book, to which I have referred, tells me whether I am doing more or less business this year than last; whether my expenses in my business or my house are larger or smaller than they were. In this orderly arrangement I see the capital I have had engaged in my business for a series of years. This book begins in 1844. I see the amount of bad

debts incurred, wages paid, coals burnt by steam engines, goods exported or imported, what cash I have received, and what I have paid away. I see also with a glance at this book, what I pay for taxes and travelling, rents and carriages, repairs and packages, sundries and stationery. Postage stamps seem trifles, but they eminently teach how pence become pounds, whether you spend them or save them.

The great value of the business statistics contained in this Fact Book is that, it always tells you, with but little labor, what is the health of your business. But these statistics will often show you more than this: you can, by their agency, get a glimpse at the greater laws of nature. On one occasion I was deeply impressed with the value that accurate statistical knowledge imparted. Whilst taking out for a series of years the daily consumption of coal by a steam engine, I noticed that my figures recorded a most reasonable induction: that in winter, from the lower temperature of the water, the consumption of coal was uniformly greater than in summer, when the temperature is twenty or thirty degrees higher. Of course the value of statistics is, that you do not change your plans of rendering them, but keep all going on orderly and uniformly. If postage stamps, wages, and such items, are mixed, you cannot tell them separately without labor. When once you have fixed the name for a fact, take care no other mixture takes place. If you have a column for beer or calicoes, wine or muffins, take care the column has

only the beer or calico, or wine or muffins in it ; do not have any mixture of beery muffins. The very use of the book is done away with, unless it speaks the truth in these particulars. If it is truthful, you can always speak mildly to your servants, and yet forcibly convince. "Sir, what you say goes into me like a cannon ball," said a man to me on one occasion, when he had only a few clear, unmistakeable facts placed before him.

Statistics require, however, cautiously dealing with, or you may be easily misled. The mere average totals of statistical science are often of no value at all. Attention to details that make up these totals must never be neglected. I have just said that I keep a time table of the attendance of my clerks at business. I have the average of each rendered me weekly. I notice in the column of totals one clerk exceedingly punctual ; whilst another, a better man and an older servant, is behind his time a few minutes in his average for the month. I tell him of the difference of the averages, and this senior clerk suggests that I should look at the daily attendance, and not at the weekly average. I do as he wishes me, and I find the senior clerk always, within a few minutes over or under, in attendance at his time, whilst the other is always late, saving some particular morning in the week, when, by an extra early attendance of half-an-hour, he brings up his average of punctuality. Of course this would be all very well if I merely required hours and neglected

regularity ; but, as I require punctuality, and value it, I should have been in this instance utterly defeated, by depending on average totals for my facts without consulting details. Statistics are invaluable for the facts they disclose ; but they must be correctly applied, or they are of no value. It is proverbial that figures may be made to speak any thing one pleases.

Perhaps I cannot give a better illustration of the danger of merely trusting to numbers, than by alluding to the statistical returns of the Registrar-General, Mr. George Graham. Dr. Letheby, the Medical Officer of Health for London, recently impugned the correctness of the official weekly returns, and complained of them as often rendered too sensational. He pointedly says that the weekly death-rate published of the nineteen large towns of the united kingdom often mislead the public, raising at times unnecessary alarm by an apparent high death-rate, and at others by giving a false confidence when the rate appears low. So far Dr. Letheby no doubt is quite right. The public do not get each week entirely those accurate deductions by which to estimate the salubrity of any place. But the rejoinder of the Registrar-General also shows what any accurate student should do with these statistics, and how they ought to be dealt with to obtain a correct opinion. In his twenty-fifth annual report he gives the reservations necessary to be taken into account when using such death-rate. That is, allow-

ances have to be made for the rates of birth, and emigration or immigration, before the truth can be eliminated.

Much of our modern advancement in civilization has been owing to inductions derived from laborious statistical research. A mind conversant with the law of regular repetition, may obtain much truth from mere inspection of the first terms of statistical investigations, if one may so call them. So many things uniformly repeat themselves, as seen in the comparative uniform rates of births, marriages, and deaths, that very often correct inferences may be made from these first terms. A man may not have time nor the means for collecting the statistics on a subject which he wishes to investigate, so as to say that he knows all that can be known of it. Yet, by taking this labor to obtain all the statistics he can, he may often have sufficient knowledge to perform very safe inductions, and to estimate probabilities exceedingly correctly. The man who seizes hold of this method of collecting what statistics he can, will be often ahead in forming a correct judgment, of him who will take no such labor. Business statistics, as well as anything else, show uniformity of cause and effect almost in every direction in which they are examined. I have observed in many things, that I should have as correct notions of results from one month's data, as I should from that of a year; or as sound a judgment from a year's statistics, as if I had before me the collection of a century. This

observation of results, from widely studying various statistics, tells me that truth may often be eliminated, and the consequences generalized with much correctness, from the consideration of small collections and comparisons of facts. I cannot, therefore, direct your attention in these days of progress to a more useful or more interesting branch of study than statistical science. By its assistance you will arrive at the conviction that a certain average condition of things always produces certain average results; and you will further become aware of the fact that, unless you can alter this condition of things you cannot alter the effects. Thus, the statistician shows that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn and the rate of wages. He also shows that the offences of men result "not so much from the vices of the individual, as from the state of society into which that individual is thrown." From which it may be reasonably inferred, that any improvement to be effective must begin by operating on society itself. And a further deduction may be made: that anything which raises the moral tone of society, is sure ultimately to raise a given number of individuals to a higher standard than would otherwise be possible.

People do not deny facts—they cannot. All minds are struck by truth. It is true we only get parts of it often, and so quarrel, and argue, and wrangle, as if we had it all before us. But this is no fault of truth itself, it is only the perception of

truth being so limited. I may name that reducing book-keeping to this system of facts has, in one or two concerns, quite superseded other systems. I never recommend other books to be suddenly displaced, but recommend the new to be worked awhile by the side of the old ; if the new system of a Fact Book be preferred, then I say adopt it.

I find I omitted to name one great use of the Minute Book to which I alluded. It was commenced because I had a very nice young clerk in my employment, who had a habit rather common among some people, of not remembering what you told him to do. I found by his account that I was always wrong. It was true he could be silenced by the dogmatism of a master ; but his memory being a convenient one, my remarks carried no conviction. Directly I began to make minutes of my instructions and wishes as I gave them to him, all was changed. The picture was reversed. Instead of my being always wrong, I found he was generally wrong, and that he saw he was wrong. I can assure you that I know few business applications more simple and useful, and certainly none that preserve one's equanimity of temper so much, as this simple Minute Book,—a book that saves heart-burnings and quarrels continually.

This plan of making notes leads me to recommend to your notice another plan, perhaps rather a new-fangled notion for a tradesman, manufacturer, or merchant, but nevertheless a very serviceable one

for the regularity, order, and method of a house of business. Write out for each person you employ, his instructions as to the business you wish him to do. Give him a copy, and keep yours entered in your Instruction Book. I have a book whose accumulations make it so full, that I see it will give almost any kind of instructions to guide a buyer, or instruct a clerk ; inform a housekeeper, or make a porter. By having the duties of your servants before you, you are not in danger of forgetting important information, that may have cost you time and money to obtain, and which those you employ should know ; and which, moreover, satisfies you that your experience is then not thrown away. In times of sickness or change it saves blunders and losses, by assisting you to teach your new servants, in the quickest possible manner, what their duties are, and how you expect them to be performed.

When a man has much business on his shoulders, this Instruction Book is of incalculable benefit for helping him to get work done accurately. His own duties are quickly run over. I dare say you have all suffered by having forgotten this needful, or that useful article, which with a list before you, kept as instructions to yourself, would never have been forgotten.

But to continue the use of the Fact Book. The common mode of stock taking is for a man to take an account of his liabilities, that is, to collect all he can remember or trace that he owes on one side,

and then on the other side take all his assets of stock and debts. This is the ordinary plan of taking stock pursued by retail dealers. Retail trade is usually a trade of details, and requires so much personal attention, as to make it impracticable to afford more time and expense about book-keeping than this simple plan affords. This does not suit a merchant, with his larger transactions, nor the wholesale dealers of London, Liverpool, or Manchester. In their business the plan adopted is to make a stock account prove that the liabilities and assets account are correct. By the Daily Report I have shown you that you know how much you get in debt. To these debtings is added your value of stock when you began. If from this total of stock and debtings you deduct what you have taken from the stock and debtings by your sales, you know what amount of stock you ought to have at any time you please. This is all that double entry can do; the best system can do no more. If you know what you ought to have, your next business is, if you wish to know exactly your circumstances, to go through your stock, enter it down at market value, cast it out, and see what it comes to. If your business is a paying one, of course you will find stock of more value than what your afore-mentioned book-keeping shows; and it is this difference between the amounts shown by your books, and that shown by your stock, that is your surplus or profit.

It may be considered troublesome and irksome

by some inexperienced in such matters, to have books always closed daily ; but I say it is no such thing. The labor of making a daily report is a task that a very inexperienced youth can perform. The questions are printed, and the memory retains a day's business very well. The time is comparatively nothing that the report takes making out. Every book ought to be completed daily, for no trader thinks of parting with his goods without an entry in some book or another, before the goods leave his premises. Nor does the trader think of taking a penny without putting the amount in his cash book. This he does before he signs the receipt to the bill. I feel persuaded that this system of rigid exactness is the very system that ought to be pursued by most of those companies whose partners are numerous. I would have a daily report laid on the table of the board room, for any interested shareholder to see. By these daily reports I would have the accounts audited and balanced. It is this early attention to method which saves blunders, and this daily report saves from all back work. The mere copying abstract from the books on the report will be but a trifling labor, after every book—the records of business—shall have been properly closed for the day. You can readily see that it only puts all in one place—the Daily Report—instead of all being in many places.

If traders balanced or closed their transactions daily, there would be fewer speculations, fewer

unwarrantable suspicions, and fewer occasions of scolding, or displays of angry feeling. The Daily Report calls imperatively for this daily balancing, or it is no use. This system may be made to strengthen wonderfully the nervous system of the business of any man. It gives a steadiness to his purposes, and assists him to govern his transactions with calmness, ease, and regularity. It requires no strong dogmatic tone to upset the greater dogmatism of ignorance. A single day is a sufficient time to bring up all the accounts to a total. The first day of the new month gives ample time to know completely the state of the business of the last month, so that no time need be lost in altering tactics, if needful. A man sees that he has bought too much, he immediately acts on his knowledge and buys less.

Since I issued the first edition of this work, it has fallen to my lot to apply with success these business principles on a much larger scale. I have only to add that, by commencing business with a spirit of rigid economy, I have been able to carry out what I have always considered of the greatest importance for a high mercantile standing: to buy as much as possible for cash, and to have as little business as possible that involves buying on credit. My business has for many years shown an annual increase in its returns, which would not have been the case but for adhering to this principle of buying for cash. So long as you have any accounts from which you buy on a credit footing, I suggest that no money be

invested or put into any other commercial undertakings whatever. Many failures constantly occur from neglecting this principle. It is the duty of every trader and merchant to fix his business on the most impregnable of all foundations,—a cash foundation. By keeping all accumulations of profits that he makes in his business, he may hope in a few years to succeed in his wishes. I would, therefore, have every young man aim steadily at one mark, that of paying cash as quickly as he can. He will find that he will not only secure much more than common interest for his cash payments, but also better attention to his orders. In many kinds of business the advantage is as much as ten per cent. per annum.

This Fact Book, to which I have often referred, shows all cash transactions grouped in one page. It is an important thing for a young man to know that his cash book totals alone, give but a poor idea of the dimensions of his business, or the profits it will yield. There are very numerous transactions in the course of the year, in every man's business, which are only returned loans, bills, checks, and so forth, that do not pay a penny profit. It is well to keep these assorted in a column of the cash book to themselves. We call them unproductive payments—"in" or "out," as they may be. This column enables the cash book to show the total of the precise business by which you gain your living.

As I doubtless address some who will engage in business on their own account, I will next say a

word or two on the amounts of capital that business in the present day requires. To know the precise amount of business that is required to maintain you is everything. This you may learn by properly estimating the class to which you belong, and the habits that you have contracted in that society. Of course, marriage alters circumstances altogether. What the wife has been used to she naturally expects. Do not suppose that you can easily alter her habits of childhood and youth. The proper rate of expense for living all depends on the returns and the capital engaged in your trade. Every description of trade has its relative requirements of capital. The capital of a druggist, whilst similar to that required by other druggists, is very different in amount to the capital required by the grocer, the draper, the ironmonger, the butcher, the brewer, the innkeeper, the corn merchant, the timber merchant, the banker, the bookseller, the lawyer, and, I may say, the rector of a parish, for benefices are often bought and sold. Nevertheless, diverse as these capitals and returns may be, they yield very similar incomes with similar exertions. A father in fixing his sons will find that, whilst the capital in the several businesses are so different in amount, there is not so great an inequality in the capital required to fix each of his boys as at first appears. The credits of each kind of business, given by the wholesale merchants or importers, rectify the amounts of capital required, the returns of some businesses being slow, of others quick. It

is for this reason that some businesses, doing a healthy trade, economically and energetically worked, can use bills well and satisfactorily in discharge of their liabilities, whilst others do not require them, and it would be folly to use them. The returns of a moderate chemist for twenty years—all the money he would take—would not perhaps be half a year's returns of the corn merchant. The returns of a chemist would be opulent at £5,000 a year; while the returns of many corn merchants doing business at Mark Lane, are not less than £100,000 in six months. The returns of a business by no means denote the profits of a business. This depends on other social laws. The fact seems to be this: each town requires, and will maintain and give occupation to a definite number of a trade. However diverse the trades may be, the profits come singularly alike. I know one street in my native town, which had in it, living close together as neighbours, a butcher, a chemist, an ironmonger, a grocer, a woollen draper, and a baker. These all, excepting the baker, died within a few years of one another. The different amounts of property they secured were more influenced by their families being larger or smaller, than by any difference of income in the trades. They were all solid burgesses of the town, and men who stood in high esteem with the neighbourhood as attentive men of business. Now every one knows that, if the rate of profit secured by the chemist was secured by the grocer or corn merchant only for a

few years, he would soon make with his larger returns a large fortune, and be away from trade altogether ; but, such is the remarkable fact, that limits based upon competition are fixed by natural laws to the profits of each business ; that which is wanted for a maintenance is that only which is generally secured. In going over some calculations of this kind, I find every trade has about certain proportions of population which will maintain it. Thus, 2,000 will find a living for a medical man, 300 for a little country shopkeeper, who sells his “daffies” and drapery, cheese and crockery, eggs and bacon. While in Liverpool, 50 men representing the heads of families have a gin shop to themselves. That is, the earnings of these 50 men pay rent of a house, decorate it tawdily, stock it, pay assistance, and yield, we will say, £200 a year profit.

If I were asked to give an opinion as to what agencies secured success more than anything else in any particular business, I should say situation and capital, economy and attention,—but especially attention. Attention is the competing quality that makes the success of one more than that of another. Attention to the details of business prevents waste of time and stock ; waste is only another term for losing money. The weakest trader, of course, is the one to go to the wall, and that man is the weakest who suffers most waste. Many a man’s fortune slips through his fingers, which attention would have prevented ; and if, perhaps, I were to add one remark,

I should not be far from the truth when I say that, I consider no greater sign of the decay in the prosperity of a business is to be found, than in the habitual disregard of promises as to time of payment, or when an order will be completed. Nobody likes delay, or promises not kept. Nay, the promiser himself dislikes to be so served, and is probably the very man to be most indignant at this kind of treatment, when buying of any one else.

I might very legitimately be asked, how then is property at all to be made, if incomes in trades are so much alike? How is it one man manages to get more than another? I should reply that, next to a small or large capital, the quality of the intellect is one great cause of difference. Regular profits lie in the regions of moderate capacities to obtain. Incomes do not rise or fall here. The clever people, who are often most opiniated and dogmatic, make the ups and downs of life. A brilliant speculation raises one of these clever and sharp people, as a bad speculation ruins another. Nevertheless, good hits will at times come to the most plodding, who only have courage and attention to stick to their business. These good hits coming to the clever or plodding, have a natural tendency to raise a man's notions of himself, of his family, of his friends, and, of course, raises his expenditure. A loss coming unexpectedly, however, causes all the prosperity to vanish, leaving him only this,—his expenditure as large as ever. This he does not reduce, and he is ruined. If he

happen to have a strong will, a sensible wife, and obedient children, he perhaps does reduce his style and habits, and so recovers his position in life. But this is not often the case. Perhaps men of one idea have made more and greater fortunes than any other class.

Invention will also often assist one man to rise to greater wealth than another. This is seen to be the case in machinery, and, unfortunately, in the adulterations of commerce. An improvement in manufacturing gives an extra profit, as does adulterating a genuine commodity with an inferior. But the man who adulterates a genuine article is next only to a felon.

These are some of the disturbing causes which produce inequalities in men's fortunes, so also are the saving habits of one generation against that of another. A careful wife and no family may make a man rich in a short time. Even with one or two children a man may leave a large property behind him, which shall make his sons bankers, or wholesale dealers, or merchants, on a large scale; that is, if they have been obedient, well-conducted sons. I say a saving wife, because if a man has not this treasure, it is next to impossible for him to save enough for his old age, to say nothing of leaving anything behind him. Old Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," dwells on the character of a wife of the right kind, and I will venture to quote him. It seems to me that he had a notion that melancholy

and dirt went together, whilst a tidy wife and cheerfulness were generally found together. "A wife, therefore," he says, "to win the esteem of her husband and secure his kindness, must not only be modest, affable, good natured, frugal, sober, thrifty, and circumspect, but above all silent and domestic;" having "a fondness for home, and a discreet exercise of that noble organ—the tongue." Silence, at proper times, is a most important virtue in a wife. "A noisy female, who used to bandy word for word, and frown with frown, complaining of her husband's intolerable temper, was presented with a bottle of a certain liquid, and told by her neighbour if she would fill a glass with it, and hold it continually to her lips whenever her husband was out of humour with her, it would soften his passion and prevent its return. The woman cordially thanked her neighbour for so valuable a present." She tried it, and found him cured of his violence. "With a grateful heart she requested to know the ingredients of which this wonderful specific was composed. "Composed of?" said her neighbor, "Why it is only water! And if you will keep yourself as you were, with this water at your lips, you will have little to fear from your husband's ill tongue. It was your retorts that made him violent, as it is now your silence that subdues him."

Old Burton, when he wrote this, had his eye on the valuable quality of punctuality. He knew very well that an uncooked dinner, a half-boiled potato, or

an ill-baked dish, might make a row at any time. A man can work hard, well, and willingly, with order and punctuality at home ; but it wants an angel of a man to stand unpunctuality and half cooked food. Men and women do well to think of the waste of time and temper occasioned by unpunctuality. I might add much more on the importance of punctuality. I could show you how great events in the lives of men have been all influenced by their punctuality, and I could as easily show you numberless illustrations of the effects of the want of it, by which men have ceased to advance. The subordinate positions which they now occupy have been wholly caused by allowing others, more punctual than themselves, to take their places, perform their duties, and so ceasing to be wanted, they have gradually ceased to be of value.

Before closing my remarks on business, I would venture to suggest that you young men should acquire at least sufficient self-knowledge to believe that you have some weakness of character somewhere. It is seldom that a man is born completely furnished. A man has generally some screw loose—some infirmity of character that will mark him out for unsucccess. Some men are too fast, some are too slow, some too selfish, some too prodigal. As a race, we have seldom the quality of moderation ; and any friend will tell us, if we wish, what are our failings. Now, youth is about the only time in which we can give ourselves habits that will overcome these

failings. It is, therefore, important you should know your defects, that you may remedy them, or guard yourself against them. In business, men like to appear smart before others. Their very quickness often prevents them making a successful bargain. Many a man repents of his haste, and would afterwards give anything to get clear. If he is a shuffler, he will not mind breaking his word, and so get out of it. If he is a man of honour, he will complete the bargain, take his loss, and remember in future to avoid precipitancy. This is the only safe way of acting. Repudiating a bargain and getting off lightly is the beginning of the life of a scoundrel,—an education that is very speedily completed, as honour gets repeatedly sacrificed, and conscience becomes callous. If you pay for your loss once it will do you good. It will be the experience to remind you hereafter of your folly. It may be the most useful thing in the world that could have happened to you. It will be imprinted on your memory when any uncommon inducement to speculate temptingly offers itself, and you will run from your temptation to find quiet and deliberation before the inducement makes you hard and fast. There are many affairs which you will have come before you, important enough to make you use the habit of deliberation. To do or not to do—that's the rub. It may be to marry a wife or take a shop, to choose a friend or make an enemy, to go a journey or stop at home, to invest your gains or begin a study. I think, therefore,

that I cannot do better than suggest that when matters of difficulty come before you, that admit of time for deliberation, you act wisely to take such time. Indeed, you should never allow yourself to be too quickly hurried forward in anything. I have noticed a somewhat singular psychological fact, from which I infer the cause of the value of waiting and taking time to deliberate. I have had mathematical problems which I have tried to solve, but have been quite unable. I have laid the books and problem aside. After an interval I have again taken up the subject, and have readily succeeded in solving that which I had previously been unable to solve. I gather, from this having occurred several times in my life, that the mind at its first glance takes a view of the subject from one position only. On looking again at the subject after an interval, when the problem, as it were, becomes again a new one, the mind looks at it from a new position. The new and old positions are machinery, which in combination solve the problem. By the doctrine of chances it is almost certain that different thoughts on the same subject will be likely to suggest themselves at different times. Hence I gather that no deliberations are likely to serve you so much as those which are recorded and minuted in some form or another. By noting them on each occasion of deliberation, you are able to see which suggestions come to you as new, or which as old, and also those minutes of deliberations which would have been quite forgotten,

but for the record that you have kept, are by this means remembered. This plan seems to have been very constantly used by the great Lord Burleigh.

I can scarcely say too much on the importance of cultivating in early life this habit of deliberation. If it becomes a habit it may save you at some period of your life when, by your very success, you may be tempted to do something rash. It is not uncommon to see the heads of very first-rate men turned by their success, so that they "precipitate themselves into rash, and sometimes ruinous adventures." Adam Smith singles out the great Duke of Marlborough as having never been influenced by his uninterrupted success to do a rash action, or to speak scarcely a rash word. The same observations apply with similar force to the late Duke of Wellington. A habit of deliberation, and looking well at every side of a question, is a habit that should accompany a man to the grave. It is really the only correction I know for that inordinate self-esteem which often makes a man so intoxicated by his prosperity as to think his judgment perfect, and that his character needs no amendment in any respect. "The man who feels himself all perfect, naturally enough despises all further improvement." And one of the worst features of this excessive self-estimation is that it values itself on trivial actions, accomplishments, or motives. We can pardon a man who values himself excessively for some real and solid merit, and forgive a vanity that leaves a good residuum of excellence

behind it, though men of this character are by no means very pleasant or agreeable companions.

In hundreds of instances you will want careful, painstaking deliberation to avoid getting on the wrong rails. If you do get wrong, beware of the smash that is sure to follow. Many smashes also occur from one simple rule being neglected. "Stick closely to your regular business." It is said that one-fourth of the bankruptcies that are made, are made by men engaging in business which they do not understand, and are incapable of attending to or managing.

If some of you young men are apprenticed and are learning trades, let me especially call your attention to the necessity of knowing the value of merchandise sold in these trades. All the separate articles of commerce have much to interest you in their production. Youth is the best time to learn a trade. A man, be he ever so successful in a new business, never feels so much at home as in the one to which he has been apprenticed. Remember then not to neglect your apprenticeship. This is the time to study, and to make them frequent books of reference, M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, Smith's Wealth of Nations, Ure's Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures, Chitty's Commercial Lawyer, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. I would recommend you also, if you have not had them in your course of study at school, to learn Algebra and Euclid, and even get an insight into Trigonometry. If you have a love

for such studies, you may push on and master a few chapters of that valuable little work on the Differential and Integral Calculus, by the late Dr. Ritchie. These studies, with a modern language or two, will give you sufficient amusement for the spare time of your apprenticeship. Now that I have introduced this subject of books, I may perhaps be permitted to introduce a few others also to your notice. Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life* is one I would suggest that you read. Johnston's volumes open out very enlarged views of the circulation of matter, tracing it from the soil, through the plant, into the animal, and thence to the soil again ; showing, in a very interesting manner, on what life depends, and what part "the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we eat, and the liquors we ferment, the narcotics we indulge in, and the odours we enjoy," play in maintaining the human race in vigour and efficiency. And, in a most instructive chapter, he gives an account of how "land and water change places, as they have often done, during the geological history of the globe." Carpenter's *Manual of Physiology* is a book to give its reader "as clear an idea as possible of those principles of Physiology which are based on the broadest and most satisfactory foundation, and to point out the mode in which those principles are applied in the explanation of the phenomena presented by the living actions of the human body." Buckle's *History of Civilization* is also a noble work, which one can hardly praise too

highly. It is full of research, and the knowledge is so condensed, by his clear and beautiful style, as to be reading of the most pleasant description, not inferior to the works of Macauley, Prescott, Motley, or Froude, whose matchless histories enrich the present century. It treats on many abstruse metaphysical questions, in so clear and simple a manner, as to be easily understood. It deals with large generalizations as to the causes of progress among mankind. It points out what may be expected to be the future of the world, as science and art become diffused among its various inhabitants. It tries to make history itself a science; and, from the past, with the pen of genius, frees the future from many old fashioned and erroneous notions. It is a work calculated to save much labour to students, who would otherwise have to wade through a mass of rubbish to get at the elemental truths which Buckle has adorned and illustrated by his laborious readings,—readings that have been obtained from books of all time and of all peoples. I do not say that all the opinions of Buckle are accurate, and that still wider generalizations, from increased knowledge, will not correct some of the views which he entertained; but still the book, for the great range of subjects that it treats upon, is one that no young man ought to overlook. It is a monument of industry, genius, and intellectual power. At the present time there is no such condensed account of the history of science, art, and government, to be found in the

English language. Whateley's edition of Bacon's Essays is a valuable book, and one you may well enjoy and derive much instruction from. These Essays, or "Counsels," as Bacon calls them, written on Truth, Envy, Love, Simulation, Revenge, Marriage, Reputation, Counsel, &c., "show uncommon knowledge of the offices of civil life. They have been considered the finest models ever composed. And, as education and knowledge are more diffused, are sought after and consulted with avidity." Whateley, in his edition, to which we refer, has availed himself by his comments on these Essays, of a good opportunity to display his own shrewd knowledge of the world. His logical and experienced mind drops many a useful hint, which assists to bring up the book to a modern date. It is to be hoped that, in the interval from Bacon to Whateley—nearly three hundred years—that the world has grown somewhat wiser, and has added something worthy of recording. The Archbishop has done his part in an exceedingly able manner. In these days of shortened labour and early closing you have no excuse for your ignorance. You have spare time enough to obtain sufficient knowledge for a doctor of divinity. And I say it, after careful deliberation on my past life, that I know of no study which may not be made useful in every day life. An educated mind acts with considerably more rapidity than one uneducated. It appreciates beauties, excellencies, and analogies, wholly unperceived

by the crowd. Having spoken of reading, allow me to say a few words on writing—the writing of business letters. Some of you young gentlemen are, I dare say, serving an apprenticeship to another kind of business—courting a lady. Of course, you know the style of letters suitable for this kind of employment; you see them reported in the newspapers occasionally, as they have been read in courts of justice. Well, be sure to keep this style of letter especially for that especial purpose; do not use it in your business. Business, by which you get your living, wants concise, clear, and plain thoughts, put distinctly and plainly on paper. Fine writing would be as bad for an introduction, as going with a cigar in your mouth to ask for credit at your bankers. Always consider what is your definite object in writing. If the matter wants several letters, keep in view your object in every letter which you write; sooner repeat it than omit it. Letters may be just as much too short and ambiguous, as they may be made irrelevant and unnecessarily diffuse.

In this concise view of a life of business, I venture to repeat that self-control is needful for thrift, judgment for direction, energy for success, address for matrimony, resolution for difficulties, caution for schemes.

I have also directed your attention to the advantage of completing your business daily; suggesting that you keep a daily report, monthly report, and yearly report; making minutes of your

plans and proceedings, and keeping a book of instructions for those whom you employ, and one page of this important book especially for the benefit of one most difficult person to manage—yourself.

I have glanced at the political economy of business generally, and seen that attention is one of the best commodities for a man to give his customers. I have shown the influence of the choice of a wife on a man's happiness and success; the influence of character on a bargain; and the use of deliberation not to make a foolish one. I have also sketched out a course of study which may be advantageously pursued in your leisure; and have shown you the importance of knowing the value of goods, as by this knowledge you live, if you are a trader. Further, you have been reminded to keep in view your object when you write letters on business. Remember that when your object is attained or disposed of, you fold up the letters which you have answered, place them away for easy reference, and go on with your next duty.

## PUBLIC LIFE.

SOME sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I entered a little on the public business of a small town, a valued friend of mine directed my attention to those principles which every man would do wisely to follow, in order to be a good and faithful servant of the public. I venture to give you those principles, as being suitable preliminary observations.—“That which gives, in a public man,” said he, “the most confidence with the public, and enables him to maintain the most sound position in public life, is to be a man of absolute integrity and truthfulness; to have also that quality we distinguish by the phrase a sound judgment; and also to be kind-hearted and merciful, and to be a man of general information. By that quality of a sound judgment, I mean a judgment capable of taking a comprehensive view of men, manners, and things. I would have such a man also, if possible, combine with these qualifications the power of expressing ideas in the fewest possible words to be clear, dignified, and impressive.”

Defining kind-heartedness, my friend made it to embrace patience, forbearance, beneficence, and courtesy. He cautioned me against loving secrecy. Secrecy in a public man is a quality the public never

like. It causes suspicion of one's motives, when it might be readily avoided, by a little more openness and plain dealing. As to the quality of sound judgment wanted in a public man, he showed that it was a much rarer quality than at first sight appeared, sensitive feelings stepping in so much to counteract its operation. The general tendency in the conduct of the man of over sensitive feelings was that of vacillation and inconsistency,—moral perturbations for which I suppose neither Leverrier, Lescarbault, nor Adams, could give a mathematical formula by which to calculate their effects. Well, as it is no part of my mission to enter into the refinements of moral and mental disquisitions, I will end these few words of introduction by the words of David, addressed generally to public servants:—"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

In the treatment of "Public Life" I wish to consider those separate vocations that so many persons are called on to take one time or another in their lives.

I consider, in my view of public life, a Sunday school teacher as much of a public character as a mayor. In the ranks of life to which the teacher belongs he may very likely be called some day to fill trusts as onerous, if not as public, as those of a mayor. A Sunday school teacher, from the first day of teaching, becomes somewhat of public property; that is, in a well regulated school he belongs to a

little republic, who elect their chairman, put questions to the vote, discuss business, as much as they do in the House of Commons.

Englishmen, happily, have sense enough to know that their first duty is to have a head; so they fix on a chairman, whether the company be a gathering of Sunday school teachers, a company at a Free and Easy, or a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association. In order to teach these duties to such a head as the chairman, I shall venture to trace in general terms the ordinary duty of the office, as recognised by custom and by law. Young people do well to know such things early. It gives them in public, grace and freedom, instead of embarrassment. Every one knows that habits cannot be put on and pulled off as one's clothes; that if you wish to appear natural you must be what you appear. In the ranks of life to which we belong we may be reasonably sure we shall not escape some public trust. We are almost certain to be overseers or guardians, constables or councillors, auditors or assessors, jurymen or commissioners, a trustee for a company, or, aiming at a little publicity, be a correspondent for a newspaper. Every man has something to do if he will do it. He can be a preacher or a public speaker; take up public work in chapels or in institutes; and, in fact, make himself generally useful somewhere in this large body social. So much is this the case, that I would say whatever principles we adopt as a nation, we must be careful to maintain a right and

proper balance among the various parties which divide the length and breadth of the land. The prosperity and stability of our nation depend on the free action of individuals and of parties. No single action that is not injurious to society ought to be restrained by law. Eccentric people have their work to do in the world as well as the "centric." Every man has a mission ; and it should be the business of the state to keep him free, in order to develop it. The freedom we have as a nation is greatly produced and maintained, not only by the liberty of private and individual social action, but by so large a portion of the people belonging to some two or three—nay, even a dozen different societies, associations, clubs, or trades' unions, of which England is so full. Every one of these different gatherings produces different influences on the character of the man, by demanding from him a portion of thought and action. Each meeting which he attends has a different phase of activity and interests to protect. And not the least singular fact is that individuals belonging to societies, associations, and clubs, who protect one class of interests at one time, protect another class at another, sometimes Radicals, sometimes Whigs, sometimes Tories. Nor is it unlikely that the interests of these different associations are quite as widely apart as politics or religion can make them. But such is nevertheless the fact, that many men are members of societies, whose principles of action differ from each other no less than their personal

business interests differ from the public interests of the state, as is seen by the unwillingness of people to pay taxes and rates. So much the better is it for the nation, that in the same individual this mixing up of ideas and motives for action takes place. By this means every society or social body becomes the vent for so much explosive force, that might otherwise run to an extravagant length when discussing manhood rights with revolutionary feelings, and which force, when concentrated on one object, as, for instance, the government of the state, might lead to its destruction. These bodies of association act as a safety-valve for the pent up passions of man, and therefore protect so much of the property and rights of the governed.

For a moment glance at the lowliest member of the state. Take an humble day labourer, influenced somewhat by his master, his wife, and his family. He is also, perhaps, an Odd-fellow and a Methodist, or a Rechabite and a Baptist. These societies to which he belongs are very different affairs indeed ; but, nevertheless, the sympathies of the man connect these societies together, as his connection with the societies themselves divides his sympathies into fragments of himself. What may be seen in village cricket clubs may be seen in societies all England through. One club can compete with another, as easily as it divides and competes with itself. This is freedom truly fitted for a free nation. The angularities of character get rubbed off by this continual

friction. Many a man may be said, by his connection with public business, to represent the feelings of a dozen men. He fills so many offices one wonders where the offices can be found. In that condition of life just above the one to which our day labourer belongs, begins the middle class. Take one of this description. He starts into public life perhaps as an Overseer, and ends very likely as a Magistrate. He is probably made a Town Councillor, and, like all Town Councillors, soon gets by his training full of municipal instinct. Let a public right be invaded, and he is ready for a fight at once. He finds himself a member of a Sewerage and Water Board. He is for great improvements; but, being also elected Guardian of the Poor, he is reminded by his rate-paying friends that rates are very high, and the amount of payment must be reduced. They tell him, in unmistakeably strong language, that there is no submitting to extravagant Board of Health improvements. In order to stand well with the public, he has therefore to suffer a little abrasion of his prejudices and principles in this direction. In process of time a vacancy occurs on the Local Board of Assessed Taxes, and he becomes one of its Commissioners. Here he is sworn to do justice to the taxers as well as to the taxed. The Queen's government cannot do without money. It must be found by taxation; but that rate-paying voter, who objects to pay a tax for a dog, tells you in his conscience it is a shepherd dog, and therefore he ought not to pay

a tax for it. The collector says it is not. You agree with the collector, and your collision with public duty and private interest chips off another little angle of your character, as well as losing you a friend and voter, and one who interested himself in your election as a Town Councillor, or Guardian of the Poor.

The power to lay rates is derived directly from the will of the Burgess; but the power to tax is derived from the government of the Queen. Republican elements are the base of the one system of payments, as aristocratic influences are of the other. Thus do extremes meet, and from the conflicting effects of public and private duties effects follow, by which the character of many active minds becomes greatly influenced. Nevertheless, it is alone by this disposition of things that we are, as a nation, far ahead of other nations in liberty, independence, and wealth. Indeed, the whole secret of good government and progress seems to be involved in this principle of putting the nation and its inhabitants under as many diverse influences and motives for action as possible. By doing this there is far less chance of the state being suddenly acted upon by the force of some one prominent notion taking possession of the public mind. Many a boat is swamped by the rush of its living cargo to one side. So with any state. In proportion as its inhabitants are without these various influences of associations to work upon its character, so in proportion does any sudden, unmodified influence, work its destruction to that state.

Bishop Butler is said on one occasion, when sitting with his chaplain, in deep reverie, as his habit was, to have suddenly started up with the exclamation—"Surely whole bodies of men loose their wits as instantaneously as an individual does." And no other remedy is to be found, that we see, for this liability of nations losing their reason, but by encouraging each individual to pursue as many social mental occupations, in as many different directions as possible.

A few words as to the conduct of a man in the chair may be instructive. Almost all meetings depend for efficiency and order on the kind of chairman selected. It is not ability or cleverness that is wanted, so much as those qualities which, to a great extent, belong to us nationally—even temper and common sense. These qualities make the majority of men suitable for this office, yet many do not like to undertake it, because they are not familiar with the routine, or because they are bashful, or because they have never done it. For a man to say that he has never accepted the office of chairman, and so try to excuse himself, is one of the worst reasons for keeping out of it, and one of the very strongest arguments that he should accept it.

In private meetings, such as those of a benefit club, or a creditors' meeting, some one is proposed and named by another as chairman, who on being seconded takes the chair. Perhaps another may be proposed before he takes it; but, seeing that the

wishes of the meeting are in his favour, he steps into office for that occasion at least.

To any one of you young men so selected, this first appointment to the chair of any meeting is of great importance. If the company be ever so small, or ever so large, you are actually helping to make your own character by which you will be known abroad. Acquit yourself with credit; demean yourself respectfully; act the gentleman; be the peacemaker; speak little and hear much; secure the rights of all to be heard; and when the time arrives take the determination of the meeting. Act thus, and you will certainly be asked again to fill this post. But if, on the other hand, you are ignorant of the routine of business, if you speak often, show a bias, attempt to thrust your views on the meeting, manifest an excitable temper, display partiality, are irregular in proceedings, disregard the rights of equality, and, in fact, attempt to be a regular master, and so lord it over others, you show that you are not suitable for a chairman; and if you are by this body asked again to preside, I shall wonder at their stupidity. The public will, however, tolerate a good deal of incapacity, especially if the chairman be a man of money or position. A chairman is often more esteemed for his wealth, or rank, than for his wisdom, intelligence, or forbearance.

In the conduct of all meetings a chairman does well to consider whether there be any minutes in existence of what has been done at some previous

meeting. If there be any, a chairman ought either to read the minutes of the last meeting, or call on the secretary to do so. If there be not any, he will perhaps secure, at any rate, for the meeting at which he presides, that there be minutes taken. There is nothing that gives public bodies so much a character for steadiness, or, in fact, secures such a uniform policy, as this mode of proceeding. Public bodies are continually making fools of themselves where this is neglected. They do and undo, just because some attend one meeting and some attend another. They become the prey of the designing and unscrupulous. Accounts of money become cooked, unknown liabilities get contracted, incorrect balances are declared, some bills get passed, others are laid aside, jobs get done, and corruption creeps silently in the dark over the best of systems, destroying activity and efficiency. The great safeguard to society is the *public press*, which distributes broadcast these minutes of meetings. What sort of state should we be in without it, whilst even now, with it, virulent frauds are continually perpetrated by joint-stock directors, managers of banks, and servants of public companies? As a chairman, remember the dignity of the office, but remember also its grave and serious responsibility, for money and character are often at stake when you little think it. The unscrupulous frequently use a chairman of good character, the better to cloak their designs; and, so far as money matters are concerned, the chairman is almost the

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only person who can be supposed to know what is the actual condition of affairs. Auditors have rarely to do with any thing else but the accuracy of past payments, whilst the chairman has to do with all contracted prospective payments, or liabilities.

The chair being filled, conversation ceases, deference begins to be paid to order, and the chairman, no longer feeling himself to belong to any party or movement, briefly addresses needful words, and no more, to the meeting, announces the name of the mover of the first proposition, and then seats himself, that business may proceed. He takes care, by watchful attention, that the objects of the meeting are kept in view, and that every motion be a proper one. The meeting, however, may be made good judges whether a motion be a proper one or not. After the motion is made, the chairman asks does any one second it? If not, the motion by its weight ceases to move, and so there is an end of it. If it is seconded, then it becomes a matter for debate and discussion. If no actual objection is made, a show of hands settles the question, whether it be carried or not. There are few, however, but know there are those kinds of minds who will not let matters run quite so smoothly as all this. They have a notion that their opinion is as good as those of others; indeed, if it were not for excessive modesty, they would say that their notions were better than the notions of the mover of the motion. A man with such a mind as this rises to oppose the motion, and

so calls for a vote on the question, "for or against;" or he rises to propose another motion,—to adjourn, postpone, reject, or amend. If he gets listened to, he perhaps explains his grounds of objection, which one or more approve, and, being seconded, this new motion stands as an amendment to the afore-named first resolution. The mover of the first resolution, I dare say, seldom thinks the amendment any amendment of his motion, and therefore lets things take their course, which course is that the meeting divide, by the chairman putting the amendment first. Those for the amendment are asked to hold up their hands, that they may be counted. Those against it are requested to do the same. Those for the resolution are then told to hold up theirs, which, when counted, those against it are asked to do the same. It is then expected that the chairman will officially declare the result.

In order to do things regularly, as the English say, the mover of the resolution has a right to reply to all objectors before his resolution goes to a division. He is not to interlard his discourse with new matter to provoke new discussions, but only to reply to the objections that have been urged against his motion. Englishmen do not allow amendors to do the same, or squabbles would arise and business never get ended; but, with the exception of this reply, no other man is expected to speak twice. Every man may speak once, that is the English custom, but he may speak no more. Every man

should think of this, and if not accustomed to speak, in order not to forget his thoughts, should put a word or two on paper to remind him, that he may not, at any rate, find his best reason was the one which he never told the meeting. Even many accustomed speakers have felt, with pain and regret, that their memory failed to give them their best reasons when most wanted. I shall not say anything as to the power of the chairman to give a casting vote. All I would say to such a person is, be careful that your vote, if it be a casting one, is given to do as little as possible, unless urgency requires something to be done. When a meeting becomes so equally matched as not to be able to show a decided majority for any particular proceeding, you may be sure that no such motion ought to be one for either half to be bound by. Delay is the only reasonable course here; for, if a motion be carried in this manner, it is quite certain that it can be called no sentiment or principle of the meeting, and as such is very unsafe to rely on. A vote or two at some future meeting might suddenly cause an explosion and a revulsion, and a new scheme to be devised. There is no safety in carrying measures into effect when there is not a good, fair, and strong majority. Wait sooner, until you have it, than press on with a weak one, like that produced by a casting vote. This course will ultimately be likely to satisfy all parties that a right and proper judgment of the affair has been taken. There is no more objectionable

line of conduct than doing something at one meeting and upsetting it at another. If you are on the beaten side, do not lend yourself to such proceedings. No greater danger can overtake society than this restless upsetting disposition. After a measure is carried, give a seemly time to wait its effects rather than attempt to overturn it. Though it may not by any means be your view as to the way matters should be carried out, still nevertheless give time to see how such a line of conduct will work. Much that every one of us considers right, and would have carried out in practice, is often based on exceedingly empirical notions.

Before concluding the subject of public or private meetings, I will make an observation on what is seen frequently to trouble meetings, and put them, as we say, in a fix. I allude to an amendment on an amendment, or, in fact, two amendments. First one person is appealed to, and then another, as to what plan should be suggested in such a case, but nobody knows precisely what should be done.

In the Liverpool Corporation, which from the magnitude of the interests involved wants much care in its proceedings to work them to a successful issue, every amendment is made a substantive resolution before it is carried. A new amendment by this means can be moved on the old amendment, and the mover of the old amendment can by this means have the same right of reply as is given to every mover of a resolution. It is, however, the custom of this

important body to refuse dealing with more than one amendment at a time.

The Corporation in defining its order of debate gives a few precise rules, which seem to me so exceedingly clear that they may be named here usefully :—

“Every motion and amendment shall be reduced by the mover into writing.

“When an amendment is moved, no second amendment shall be taken into consideration until the first amendment has been disposed of.

“If a first amendment be carried it displaces the original motion, and becomes the substantive motion for consideration, whereupon any further amendment may be moved.

“If the first amendment be negatived, a second may be moved to the original motion under consideration.

“The mover of an original motion shall be entitled to a reply, but the mover of an amendment shall not, except when an amendment has been carried and has become the substantive motion. The mover in replying shall not introduce new matter.

“When an amendment is lost, and the original motion is put, or when an amendment has been carried and has become the substantive motion, and no other amendment is moved, no member shall be allowed to speak.”

Perhaps the best plan to pursue in making rules of debate is to follow the experienced regulations of

our forefathers in Parliament assembled. When an alteration is proposed to take place in a motion, and the debate gets finished, the Speaker puts the motion first, thus—That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question, that is, that no alteration be made in the proposed motion. This at once settles all dispute as to the amendment. If the words of the amendment are not liked, the original motion stands unaltered; but it is not passed, for any one can move another amendment. I believe that there are cases of amendments that propose sometimes to leave every word out of the original motion *but one*. The word only that is left is the word *that*, which word is used always in framing a resolution at the commencement. You now see how the ground is cleared of all difficulty as to new amendments. You may have as many as you please in this manner, and every speaker who wants to put an amendment can so speak as to tell the House the kind of amendment or motion he thinks best. The member does this when he rises and speaks on the resolution.

If you in any way are a party to putting out a bill to call a public meeting, take care that your bill states explicitly your object, and what kind of persons you wish to see at the meeting. If a few persons determine on a public meeting, in order to form a new company—water works, or insurance, and so forth,—they should be prepared beforehand with their chairman, movers, seconders, and resolutions,

that it may not be all in disorder when the meeting takes place. A good deal of discretion is, however, needed in this preparation beforehand, for no man likes too much preparation without his presence,—too much of what, under the guise of freedom of debate, is a mere smuggle to obtain authority to do one's own will. If it be a public meeting, it is a meeting for all, and not for a clique. This matter of drawing a resolution requires some care and experience, to make it according to English rule and custom. Every motion must be an affirmative one, one to do something. Any man to propose an amendment *to do nothing*, or a motion to do nothing, would occasion a laugh against himself. We do not see that there is any thing so wrong in the matter, but public men will not have things disposed of in this manner. They will allow a motion that the meeting do adjourn or postpone, and if that is not the thing, they adopt the plan in use in the House of Commons, called moving the *previous question*. When I heard this previous question moved for the first time I wondered what it meant. I had been at the meeting all day in which it was moved. I knew of no previous question undisposed of, and I could not tell the use of such a motion. I knew of the one we were discussing, but of no other. I found, however, that to move the previous question means—*Shall we discuss this subject?* In the House of Commons this motion, or amendment, if you like to call it so, goes by the technical name, “that question.”

The Speaker of the House, after the "previous question" has been moved, puts it thus—That "that question be now put," which means that the House do proceed with the original motion. Those who are for it, say *aye*; those against it, *no*. Of course the majority settles it. If the *ayes* be the most, the original motion is proceeded with; if the *noes* be most, to go on discussing is objectionable, and the motion is dropped.

On the word "order," I must say a few words. The chairman is for the time the magistrate of the meeting. He it is who keeps order; disturbances he must not allow; quarrels he must quell; and if a speaker be imputing unworthy motives to parties present or absent implicated in the business, he must call the speaker to order. If the chairman do not notice this kind of conduct, persons present will, and one perhaps will rise and name the irregularity. The chairman will be wise to listen to any thing briefly said, and the more so if the speaker who interrupts appeals to this want of order in the meeting. In the case of two speakers rising together, the one who catches the eye of the chairman first has the right of speaking. In the case of any disorderly and tumultuous proceedings, mark the man who makes them, and reprove him, and not the whole meeting. Nobody is in love with the faults of others so much as to like to be blamed for them, so be precise in your reprimand.

After having said what a chairman should be,

it may be expected I should offer advice to young speakers, but I scarcely dare make the attempt, as I have never felt public speaking to be my vocation. The only hint I would give is, "Know of what you speak;" if you do not know, listen; if you do not know then, ask questions that you may know. But let every person remember he ought not to require information at the expense of the time of others, when he might have been prepared with it at home, any more than he ought to give a vote against a measure that he does not understand. Such a person ought not to vote at all. If we could only tolerate being told of our faults whilst practising public speaking, we might hope to improve; but the fact is we do not like it. How often some little vulgar trick—a hum or a haw, an improper attitude, or a stereotyped phrase, destroys the very best sense that can be uttered. Habits grow imperceptibly on us, and if we are wise we shall take care to mend before it is too late. My notion of good speaking is, that it is like good glass, there is nothing whatever to obstruct the light. You cannot see the glass, you do not even think of the glass, you only behold the object as nature draws the picture. Therefore, whatever other qualification you may strive to secure, strive to be natural and unaffected when you speak, that you may be understood.

I would further observe on speaking in public, that if you are called upon to fulfil some public trust in your town or neighbourhood, and you have

frequently to speak, do not allow yourself to descend to personal accrimonious attacks upon any one. They do no good, are long remembered, produce embittered feelings, and answer no purposes of argument, nor forward in any way the cause you wish to advance. I do not say, in extreme cases, that a little quiet banter may not be used upon the subject in hand. But it is not every man that has the gift of wittily putting aside an obnoxious proposition. Many a speaker, in making attempts to be witty, only acts the part in the fable of the donkey, who quite mistook his vocation when he attempted to play the part of a lap dog.

The only true way really in dealing with the arguments of other speakers is to endeavor to controvert them. Pascal suggests that "when we would show any one that he is mistaken, our best course is to observe on what side he considers the subject, for his view of it is generally right on this side, and admit to him that he is right so far. He will be satisfied with this acknowledgment that he was not wrong in his judgment, but only inadvertent in not looking at the whole of the case. For we are less ashamed of not having seen the whole, than of being deceived in what we do see ; and this may, perhaps, arise from an impossibility of the understanding being deceived in what it does see, just as the perceptions of the senses, as such must always be true."

I know that there are a class of speakers so long winded who, when once they begin to speak,

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never know how to end. A sort of retribution overtakes this class, by the press so frequently dismissing all they have said in a line. I have not unfrequently noticed that the few short remarks of far inferior speakers are reported at much greater length than those of the man who is at all times lying in wait to inflict an oration upon you. The public do very wisely to put down such speakers. I have long felt that almost all good and original thoughts go in a very small compass. Newton's notions of Fluxions got packed in a few sentences. All that sends the species forward in civilization would go every year into a very small book of transactions. I therefore infer that attempts to support public movements by very long speeches are likely to be as abortive as they are disagreeable.

Few speakers have the wit or humour of Burke, to put down prosiness as cleverly as he did on one occasion in the House of Commons. One of this hum-drum class, of which we have just spoken, who had the faculty of emptying the house, and had already nearly done it, with his tedious infliction, asked that the Riot Act might be read for the purpose of illustrating what he had said. "The Riot Act!" exclaimed Burke, "my dear friend, the Riot Act! To what purpose? Don't you see that the mob is completely dispersed?" It is not long since, in one of our local parliaments, a speech that threatened to be a very prosy one was ludicrously crushed in the bud, by the speaker being told by his neighbour to

sit down. "Sit down," said he, "you have been eating onions." A reminder of quite sufficient efficacy to make a laugh, to provoke discomfiture, and to stop the most prosy of speech makers.

In public life there is great occasion for good temper, owing to misrepresentation and misapprehension. There is so much to try a man's patience that, unless he is very careful, he may soon acquire a moroseness of manner that is exceedingly objectionable. It is very frequently to the interest of a party to traduce any one honestly and actively exerting himself against its policy. Vested interests, good or bad, are always upheld with a tenacity of purpose nigh unto that by which life alone is supported or defended. From the nature of things no one need be surprised at it. A living, and perhaps opulence itself, is not a light thing to be lost or thrown away. Many a man, whose motives are of the purest kind, finds himself ridiculed, and spitefully spoken against, or written against anonymously, by those who have no other mode of obtaining a living but by pandering to the lowest motives and most depraved tastes of the vulgar. To attempt to destroy reputation is often a very profitable occupation. Whatever attacks you may be exposed to of this kind, do not let your equanimity and composure be disturbed, if possible. If you are right in the views you express, you may ultimately, hope to have public opinion with you. If you are wrong, be quite content to be put right, however much you may

dislike the manner in which it is done. It is a duty, on every occasion in life, to be prepared to stand steadfastly by that which you speak or write.

Passing now from chairmen and speakers at public and private meetings, I may be permitted to say a word or two on the conduct of Sunday school teachers, lay preachers, and those who wish, by their speaking and by their labour, to benefit others. Sunday school teachers should remember that along with knowledge, they ought to have the tact of gaining the attention of children.. That having gained this, they should never consider their teaching completed until the members of the class have been examined by questioning. Words not understood will be found in rich abundance, abstract ideas will be forgotten, and certainly only that will be remembered that alludes to some sensible ideas, or picture painting, fixed in the mind. The simplicity of the parables of the New Testament shows the kind of stories and fables for children. Find them one of these, and you perhaps give them correct notions for life. Look out for short tales, simple and moral, use them carefully, as illustrations, with your scripture reading, and you cannot fail to be a good teacher.

As to the preaching of the present day, I can only say this, that those seem to excel most who give most time to study their subjects. There is a good deal of preaching tolerated that is nonsense; nobody is the wiser or the better for it. The preacher shows his own ignorance, when he ought

only to show his careful painstaking knowledge of his subject. I should like every speaker to see himself now and then in print. Many a man in the pulpit, who thinks his periods rounded off in grand style, would be surprised at the want of mental food they contain. If a man has given his five or six hours to a sermon before preaching it, and we then have the best that he can do, I am satisfied, I will be no longer a fault finder ; but, if a man has not studied his subject, hunted up references, mastered its truths, nor attended to the connection of his subject with other subjects, I am dissatisfied, and I feel, as a hearer, that I have been treated with disrespect. The pulpit is the place for solemn teaching and warning, so that a man may be thoroughly furnished with the weapons of defence needed in the day of his fiery trial. What I now say is not to be taken as applying to lay preachers as a body, for I know no class of men, on the whole, more laborious in distributing so much as they know, nor more humble, and deserving of praise. But what I now say is for you, young men, that you may not fancy, if you are tempted to preach, that you have done it well, when you have uttered so many words irrespective of the sense those words convey.

There is one vocation I must not omit to remind you of, which you will not unlikely be called on to fulfil, that of being called to the jury box. If you are, do it well, pay attention, do not trifle, remember the responsibility which this office involves. If you

get called to perform this public duty once, you will probably become aware of the very stupid practice of our lawgivers, in compelling the jurors to agree unanimously to a verdict. In old times customs and rulers were barbarous enough to make enactments without consulting reason or common sense; but surely, with the growth of education, a majority of two-thirds might secure a verdict of acquittal or conviction at any time. We often see cases settled by a majority in the upper law courts, in which our judges themselves differ in opinion, and yet some of these highly trained intellects are unwilling to concede a privilege that they themselves enjoy. I should have no objection for the law to remain the same, if these gentlemen of the long robe were exposed to the same inconveniences and annoyances for a few years, as is often the case with the petty jury. The idea is absurd, and a mockery to common sense, that because men cannot agree they shall be kept all night locked up, be put in a cart, removed from the court-house, and then tumbled out of the cart, as so much dirt. I do not know that there is any thing against a juror conscientiously understanding "not proven" to mean "not guilty." Not proven is a phrase of Scottish jurisprudence, which would prevent all conscientious scruples in returning a verdict. Remember that this is a subject some day or another for a more enlightened public opinion to settle than is in existence at present. I shall be glad if any of you who may chance to become

eminent in the profession of the law, should give your aid to remove so great an absurdity from our statute book.

If you are called to the grand jury, remember what the powers of this body are. They are great indeed. I do not know any institution that shows to greater advantage the liberties of the subject than this institution. This body hears the evidence from the lips of witnesses. It judges if the evidence will fairly and reasonably convict a prisoner. That is the inquiry of the grand jury. If the grand jury does not conceive the evidence to be sufficient, it forthwith acquits the prisoner, by the chairman writing across the bill of indictment—no true bill. I see there are those who agitate for doing away with the grand jury. I cannot think them wise. This institution is really the peerage conferred on the masses. It removes all taint, spares the feelings of an innocent man, and gives him immediate freedom without going into the dock. All this is done by the common sense of common minds, without law or lawyers.

Justice Blackstone gives the history of the grand jury, which seems to have had an existence from the times of Ethelred, (774.) He says, "If the grand jury are satisfied of the truth of the accusation, they then endorse it, "a true bill," (anciently "billa vera.") The indictment is then said to be found, and the party stands indicted. But to find a bill there must be at least twelve of

the jury who agree. So tender is the law of England of the lives of its subjects, that no man can be convicted at the suit of the King of any capital offence, unless by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his equals and neighbours." The grand jury are from twelve to twenty-three in number.

The public offices of guardian, councillor, commissioner of turnpikes and taxes, overseer, or special constable, are all in the way of falling on you. I know no better advice to give you than to go to the fountain head for your duties. These places of trust have their qualifications duly appointed by Acts of Parliament. Get these acts, and read them for yourselves, with your minute book by your side. I do not like information to filter through the brains of other people before it reaches mine. I like to go to the spring head. I do not wish to undervalue the comments of others, but it is important that you should get before your eyes the exact substance of what is commented upon. Perhaps of all trusts none is so important as the trust reposed in you by the office of guardian for the poor. The way in which relief is to be administered is all marked out and defined distinctly, in a very convenient form. The consolidated orders of the Poor Law Commissioners are put in one book, edited by William Golden Lumley, Esq., the able poor law secretary. You are told in this volume how guardians are made. When made, what they can do and what they cannot.

The proceedings of the Board are all marked out. How the chairman is to be selected. How the clerk is to be appointed. How the minutes are to be entered, and, in fact, I may say scarcely any thing that can be written down and suggested is omitted. Every bill is directed to be properly posted, examined, audited, and then paid. Every garment is numbered, and has to be accounted for. Every loaf of bread is weighed. Not a person enters the premises but his name is entered, and the cause of his visit. The sick are, by its orders, nursed in quiet, nourished in plenty, adequate fresh air found them, not less than 300 cubic feet of space being secured to each adult, and every reasonable want provided. The best wine is to be given to those who need it; the best diet to those who require it. Clean sheets, clean clothing, and clean apartments are found for them. This is the theoretic poor law. The practical is, unfortunately, mixed with so much human infirmity, inattention and niggardliness, as to be occasionally very different.

Not only do these matters come weekly under the eye of the guardian, but they also come under his eye as a visitor of the house. Rigid system is pursued, that no object of real necessity shall be neglected. The visitor has only to feel an improvement needed, and he makes a report to the Board, which is received or not, as the majority wills it. It is well known that influences will occasionally work at home to prevent impartiality in distributing

relief. That the poor may have every justice done them, the Parliament has empowered inspectors to come and look for themselves. No person is so poor, or so neglected, but that, if his case be unattended to, he has only to complain, and he can have it inquired into by the Poor Law Board, sitting, with its secretaries, at Whitehall, whose business it is to watch the doings of these Boards of Guardians through the length and breadth of the land. Supremely are the poor of our country blessed by the effects of Christianity. No tyranny is recognised. I believe that three hours daily is the average of the manual work that would be required at the hands of the population of this land were all to work that could work. So abundantly blessed is this country, that at this moment there exists sustenance ample in the fullest degree for all that these isles contain. No nation is more favoured, nor is any nation better able to show the worth of Christianity than our ocean-beaten shores; and of all our institutions none are so replete with the advantages of advancing civilization and intelligence as the system pursued in the management of our poor. There are blemishes in the system, which we might name, but which are not suitable on this occasion to refer to. Not only this institution that administers relief to the poor, but all our institutions prove that, as a nation, we eminently govern ourselves. Parish vestries lay rates and choose overseers; corporations appoint their chief magistrates, and a host of public servants

besides. Directly a man begins to fancy he is cleverer and can do better than his neighbours, a way is made speedily to prove it. I need not tell you young men that we have been all reformers in the days of our youth, but in the end we have been free to confess—such is human infirmity—that there is much of the crooked that cannot be made straight, nor that which is wanting be numbered. Nevertheless, this discontent is really made useful—it makes men try to improve their condition. In this well-provisioned globe there is no need of starvation nor idleness, all may be full of activity and usefulness. In this world there is plenty to be doing. Nature wants subduing in innumerable parts of it. Life is activity. Activity should confer happiness, and if it does not, let us be sure that there are some vile workings of human delinquencies and weaknesses which intercept this happiness. Wisdom is given to provide against accidents, discover our errors, assist us to mend our ways, and live a life of happiness and hope. Anything that prevents these happy conditions, it is your public business, in the neighbourhood in which you live, to try and remedy—to find means and ability to mend.

The late William Cobbett says very properly in his advice to young men, that “every man’s first duty is to maintain his rights; and the great right of all is to take part in making the laws by which we are governed.” He further adds:—“In civil society rights and duties go hand in hand. When

the former are taken away, the latter cease to exist." These are sentiments essentially belonging to freedom and progress, which you will do well never to neglect when public business occurs that requires attention.

Before concluding, I will name to you a blemish that exists in our laws which requires alteration. I know the subject is one beset with difficulties, but common sense I think might solve the difficulty. The present law of settlement prevents labour moving about in this country as freely as it ought. Adam Smith recommended in his day an alteration. At present our poorer neighbours are made too much serfs of the soil, or parish slaves. They cannot do as they wish. It is no part of their desire to have their wages reduced; but, like it or not, they are obliged to take what is given them. If they refuse they have only the workhouse before them. Remember how quickly your descendants may be down in the world, as these children of the paupers may be up in the world. In all your public dealings remember the secret of continued prosperity is, as Adam Smith says, "to secure perfect justice, perfect equality, and perfect liberty to all classes." This can only be done by attending to the education of youth. Of those present before me, how many would like to be as ignorant as the Aztecs, or barbarous as the Bosjesmen? None. Hence let us ever remember our duty, that we are to love our neighbour as ourselves.

## SYDNEY SMITH AND HIS WRITINGS.

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I do not know how it may be with you, my hearers, but it always gives me intense pleasure to behold a man with strongly marked, well defined outlines of character. None of your neatly finished pen and ink drawings do for me. I like a bold tracing, which will as intensely show virtues as defects; marks of character which, standing out prominently before the view of all beholders, seem as though they had been laid on by the painter's tool, rather than by the artist's pencil of camel's hair. You know a man of this kind at once. There is no mistaking him.

Sydney Smith was one of this sort of men that I like so much to study. He possessed a good front, had a bold heart, a wise head, and a witty tongue. He seems to me, if the accounts I have read of him are any thing at all like the truth, to have possessed a kindly urbanity of manner, which, mingling with his general wit and humour, made him no mean favourite everywhere. Most readers enjoy the nerve, and terseness, and plainness of the writings of old Dean Swift. But his very nature seems to have been an acid one—nay, a dirty one. There is a sarcasm almost approaching the spiteful in his writings, which makes him appear deficient in

those better qualities which we find in the writings of Sydney Smith. The picture of Dean Swift can well be fancied as of that cadaverous hue which a cantankerous temper imparts, as that of Sydney Smith can be supposed finely proportioned, in the good old John Bull style of symmetry—"twelve stone and upwards," all full of good humours and no faults. Besides daring to say what many people dare not, there is in the writings of Sydney Smith an exuberance of imagination, a clearness of diction and fancy almost inimitable. These qualities make him no mean ornament of the modern school of English literature. His books are still pleasant companions, sober advisers, and discreet friends, though the interest of many of the subjects themselves has departed.

Sydney Smith was a Church of England minister. But, until a volume of his works, years back, fell into my hands, I did not know that he had been so theologically inclined as to print theology. I supposed that, like most of his clerical brethren, he relied on the weekly impressions he made on the hearts of his hearers by preaching, far more than on any impressions he might fix upon paper by the aid of the press. For years I knew him as a critic, a wit, and a politician, but as a writer and publisher of sermons I did not know him. Indeed, I was a little in alarm when his sermons first fell into my hands, lest I might find occasion to alter my good opinion of him. I was afraid it would be recorded

of a nature like his, so full of wit and humour, that he had perpetrated pleasantries in the pulpit, rather more numerous than becoming. I knew he was wholly opposed to inactivity, and I thought I knew that such a nature would be difficult to bridle in, and chain down to words of sobriety, and so legitimately be accepted by lovers of good taste as the Reverend Sydney Smith. But I was wrong; for whilst he did not believe "that sin was to be taken from man as Eve was from Adam, by casting him into a deep sleep," he, on the other hand, believed that by preaching, he might infuse good principles into the hearts of his hearers, make them alive to their duties, and thus better fulfil the responsibilities of life. Many of us know that always to be looking on the ludicrous side of things and of questions is hurtful to our moral feelings, and one might be a little suspicious that Sydney Smith did so much, in his fondness for the ridiculous, as to injure his own finer and discriminating powers; but I think, from the short specimens I can give you from his sermons, that you will agree with me, that his faculties suffered no such injury. In his case there was no necessity for him to be restrained from the use of wit. He needed no Athenian interdiction not to joke nor be merry, for all the injury the use of wit and humour did him. Had he been a judge of the Areopagus he might have written a comedy, and have been thought none the worse for this display of his ability. Such was his mental constitution, that

he could be sarcastic and kindly, laugh and be sober, smile and be decent ; advantages of no mean order to the man, the family, and the world. It seems that it fell to his office now and then to preach sermons to judges and lawyers. This he did faithfully. It is a fine sight to see a strong arm throw a ball like lightning straight home into the wicket, or when a man strikes to see him strike hard. Earnestness everybody admires, just because they see in it sincerity. It is quite certain that such a disposition of mind never prompts its owner to laugh at you behind your back. We all like the friendship of a sincere man ; and, when he turns a little out of the way to give us gentle reproofs, rather against his interests than for them, we feel respect for his courage, if not for his advice.

Sydney Smith, in his sermons, was just this sort of man. He spoke as he thought—kindly, courageously, and conclusively. You could not fancy his preaching to be full of humming and hawing, or that he spoke so indistinctly as not to be heard. Nor could you think of him pitching his voice in that buzzing bumble-bee key, which of all soporifics—next to laudanum—is the best that I know. The following extract is from one of these sermons preached in the Cathedral of York. It was addressed to the judges on circuit, and those gentlemen engaged in the arduous profession of the law, whose business it is to follow the judges :—“ In talking to men of your active habits and lives, it is not possible

to anticipate the splendid and exalted stations to which any one of you may be destined. Fifty years ago the person at the head of his profession, the greatest lawyer now in England, perhaps in the world, stood in this church on such an occasion as the present, as obscure, as unknown, and as much doubting of his future prospects as the humblest individual of the profession here present. If Providence reserves such honours for any one who may now chance to hear me, let him never think it necessary to be weak and childish in the highest concerns of life. The career of the law opens to you many great and glorious opportunities of promoting the gospel of Christ, and of doing good to your fellow-creatures."

Proceeding to exhort faithfulness to the church, he goes into the question of lawyers taking up a side and defending it through thick and thin. Hear how he speaks of the bar :—

"However useful this practice may be for the promotion of public justice, it is not without danger to the individual whose practice it becomes. It is apt to produce a profligate indifference to truth in higher occasions of life, where truth cannot for a moment be trifled with, much less suddenly and totally yielded up to the basest of human motives. It is astonishing what unworthy notions men are apt to form of the Christian faith. Christianity does not insist upon duties to an individual, and forget the duties which are owing to the great mass of

individuals which we call our country. I need not say there is a wrong and a right in public affairs, as there is a wrong and a right in private affairs. I need not prove that in any vote, or in any line of conduct which affects the public interests, every Christian is bound most solemnly and most religiously to follow the dictates of his own conscience. Let it be for, let it be against, let it please, let it displease, no matter with whom it sides, or what it thwarts, it is a solemn duty on such occasions to act from the pure dictates of conscience, and to be as faithful to the interests of the great mass of your fellow-creatures as you would be to the interests of any individual of that mass."

The whole of this sermon is a gratifying picture of the man and his inner life. The following hints may be useful to us non-professional men. What he says to young lawyers is worthy of the consideration of all young men. "I should caution the younger part of this profession to cultivate a little more diffidence of their own powers, and a little less contempt for received opinions, than is commonly exhibited at the beginning of their career. Mistrust of this nature teaches moderation in the formation of opinions, and prevents the painful necessity of inconsistency and recantation in future life. I say not this to check originality and vigour of mind, but to check that eagerness which arrives at conclusions without sufficient premises."

Sydney Smith proceeds to warn the profession

of the law against misanthropy. "It is naturally the worst part of mankind who are seen in the courts of justice, and with whom the professors of the law are most conversant. You do not see the men of quiet, the good and the just. You see and know little of them in your profession, and therefore you forget them. You see the oppressor, and you let loose your eloquence against him; but you do not see the man of silent charity, who is always seeking out objects of compassion. The faithful servant, the just guardian, the good wife, the dutiful son, do not come into a court of justice. You punish the robbers who ill-treated the wayfaring man, but you know nothing of the good Samaritan who bound up his wounds."

In these condensed extracts from one of his sermons, I think I have given you enough evidence to establish the fact of the sobriety of his mind, and its serious cast and occupations, even amidst its resources of wit and humour.

Passing now for the present from the preacher and his preaching, we will take a view of the man as a critic. Sydney Smith tells us how he assumed this "fault-finding" vocation. To him, it appears, we are indebted for the *Edinburgh Review*. His friends, Brougham, Jeffrey, and Murray, seem to have received his suggestion of starting a Review at one of their social meetings with acclamation, being, as it proved, the very thing for their capabilities. "I was appointed editor," he says, "and remained

long enough to edit the first number. When I left Edinburgh it fell into the hands of Lord Jeffrey and Lord Brougham, and reached its highest point of success and popularity. I have contributed many articles, which I have been foolish enough to collect and publish with some other tracts written by me."

That there was great occasion for a liberal, sober-minded Review, few will question. The reign of George III. was a disastrous reign, so far as the progress of liberty was concerned. Burke had denounced in his days much that was evil, and had shown how much there was that required alteration. He saw that the nation wanted an enlightened and liberal policy, and he advocated free trade, though he could not effect his object. He saw the folly of enacting laws against forestalling and regrating, or imposing penalties against Catholics and Dissenters. Living, as it were, before his time, he urged measures which required laborious party activity before they could be carried. Burke and his party for years attacked the slave trade and the severity of our penal code. Financial reforms were known to be greatly needed. The law of libel it was acknowledged required alteration, as well as the law which made a man a soldier for life. Seeing, then, the evils which one generation of noble minds pointed out, we look with pleasure on seeing what another generation was able to effect.

Sydney Smith thus alludes to some of these abuses, in speaking of the establishment of the

*Review.* "When the journal began," he says, "the Catholics were not emancipated; the Corporation and Test Acts were unrepealed; the game laws were horribly oppressive; steel traps and spring guns were set all over the country; prisoners tried for their lives could have no counsel; Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily on mankind; libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonments; the principles of political economy were little understood; the law of debt and conspiracy were on the worst possible footing; the enormous wickedness of the slave trade was tolerated." He continues—"All these were evils in existence, and many others, which have been lessened or removed by the honest boldness of the *Edinburgh Review*."

After thirty-seven years' experience, he says, speaking of his writings, "I have little to alter or repent of. I have always fought against evil; and what I thought evil then, I think evil now." The difficulties which the *Review* had to contend with were great. He tells us what it cost him, and what he got in return for his labour. "To set on foot such a journal, to contribute to it for many years, to bear patiently the reproach and poverty which it caused, is a career of life which I must think to be extremely fortunate. Strange and ludicrous are the changes in human affairs. Liberality is now a lucrative business. Whoever has any institution to destroy may consider himself as a commissioner,

and his fortune as made. The Tories are now on the treadmill, and the well-paid Whigs riding in chariots." This is the kind of banter of which he was so great a master. In it we discover his propensity for turning into ridicule anything that might cause discomfiture to his antagonists or be of assistance to his friends. His sparkling, witty, humorous vein was most effective. It dwelt with him and existed with him everywhere, so that his very laughter seemed to be only an orderly deposit of his blood. Wit with him was instinct, as well as a study. Writing on Edgeworth's Irish Bulls, he lets us into the secret of what he considers wit. The specimens he selected tell admirably. We all like to know how a man uses his rule and compass and tools in putting anything together, and his remarks on this branch of intellectual manufacture seem as acute as they are sensible. Thus he writes :—"The pleasure arising from wit proceeds from our surprise at suddenly discovering two things to be similar in which we suspected no similarity. The pleasure arising from bulls proceeds from our discovering two things to be dissimilar in which a resemblance might have been suspected."

Sydney Smith illustrates wit by the following :—Louis XIV. being extremely harrassed by the repeated solicitations of a veteran officer for promotion, said one day, loud enough to be heard—"That gentleman is the most troublesome officer I have in my service." "That is precisely the charge," said

the old man, "which your Majesty's enemies bring against me."

As an illustration of the Irish bull, he relates a case where some Irish rebels had a grudge against a banker, and the trouble which they took to gratify it by burning all his notes wherever they could be found, whereas they could not have rendered him a more essential service.

Sydney Smith had evidently often considered the part that wit played in human nature. He had meditated much on the subject, and noticed for what it had been given to man. His object was to extract its sharpest venom and substitute its finest aroma, so that it might be disarmed of its injurious effect. He saw that decency, good nature, morality, and religion, had all to be satisfied before wit might be justifiably employed. He thinks wit may play the following part in life :—"Expanding caution, relaxing dignity, unfreezing coldness, teaching age, and care, and pain to smile." "Man," he continues, "could direct his ways by plain reason, and support life by tasteless food ; but God has given us wit and flavour, laughter and perfume, to enliven the days of man's pilgrimage, and to charm his pained steps over the burning marl." It is not my purpose at this time to speak more of his humour or wit.

We have to do with him for the present as a critic, and we will, if you please, keep in view the manly dignity and high character which he sustained, and I think will permanently sustain with posterity.

He tells us that he does not find occasion to alter many of his opinions. If anything shows off a man's judgment to advantage, it is to have taken strong opinions, held to them through thick and thin, through good report and evil report, and then to find, after years of patience, that the world has become wise enough to consider them sound. The number of good measures that have been carried since the days of Sydney Smith, which he strongly advocated in the *Edinburgh Review*, shows him off to advantage as a thinker before his time. Every day is, therefore, adding to his reputation. If any of my audience have written a book, they know what a formidable person is a critic. It is few people who think ill of their children. Neither you nor I like fault to be found with our bantlings; and of all the wounds a man feels, I think he suffers most acutely when the offspring of his brain gets found fault with. Any wound is more easy to bear than the wound of self-love. Sydney Smith brought to his vocation of critic, along with the qualities I have named, readiness of expression, liveliness of illustration, a great breadth of soul, and acuteness of perception. His mind was none of those microscopic minds, which can very nearly tell the hour of the day by the growth of their finger nails. He is a Church of England minister, but he is tolerant to dissent, except when he manifests a little violence against cant. For the want of knowing better, and being more associated with those classes in which

dissent exists, he thought that cant belonged to all and every one who dissented from him and his church. Hence his unsparing language against the Methodists, who made canting, he thought, too much of a profession, and Providence too much the rewarder of the successful. "The cry of a judgment—a judgment—it is always easy to make, but not easy to resist. It encourages the grossest superstitions," and therefore he denounces Methodism. Excepting this rather too strong prejudice, I say the English language has few writings in it of a more tolerant character than those of Sydney Smith. He is a critic and he is a partisan ; this must be remembered in our estimate of him, but still I believe that if he sees anything good in any sect or party, he is willing to allow it and give it justice. When Joseph Lancaster, the Quaker, began his school exertions by introducing the modern British school of Industry, he was severely taken to task by Mrs. Trimmer, a lady of the most orthodox acumen and piety. Smith stands forth in the *Review* as the champion of Lancaster and his system. His language is rather too strong, perhaps a little too cruel to the fair lady. Thus he writes :—"In spite of all this clamour, you and your party do nothing. You do not stir a single step. You educate alike the swine-herd and his hog ; and then, when a man of real genius and enterprise rises up and says, let me dedicate my life to this neglected object, you refuse to do your little, and compel him, by the cry of infidel

and atheist, to leave you to your ancient repose. We deny again and again that Mr. Lancaster's instruction is any kind of impediment to the propagation of the doctrines of the church, and we tell Mrs. Trimmer, if Lancaster were to perish with his system to-morrow, these boys would be taught nothing. The doctrines which Mrs. Trimmer considers to be prohibited would not rush in, but there would be an absolute vacuum."

In this quotation Sydney Smith, we see, gives justice to sects and parties. He is a great admirer of justice, and in one of his sermons he writes thus of her:—"The whole tone and tenor of public opinion is affected by the state of supreme justice. It extinguishes revenge; it communicates a spirit of purity and uprightness to inferior magistrates; it makes the great good, by taking away impunity; it banishes fraud, obliquity, and solicitation, and teaches men that the law is their right. Truth is the hand-maid of justice; freedom is its child; peace is its companion; safety walks in its steps; victory follows in its train. It is the brightest emanation of the Gospel; it is the greatest attribute of God; it is that centre round which human motives and passions turn; and justice, sitting on high, sees genius, and power, and wealth, and birth, revolving round her throne. Look what we are, and what just laws have done for us. A land of piety and charity. A land of churches, and hospitals, and altars. A people of universal compassion. All lands, all seas, have

heard we are brave. We have just sheathed that sword which defended the world. We have just laid down that buckler which covered the nations of the earth. God blesses the soil with fertility. English looms labour for every clime. All waters of the globe are covered with English ships. We are softened by fine arts ; civilized by human literature ; instructed by deep science ; and every people, as they break their feudal chains, look to the founders and fathers of freedom for examples which may animate, and rules which may guide them. If ever a nation was happy, if ever a nation was visibly blessed of God, if ever a nation was honoured abroad, and left to the full vigour of talent and industry, we are at this moment that happy people, and this is our happy lot. He who thinks it his duty to labour that this happy condition may remain, must watch over the spirit of justice which exists in these times, and strive for spotless, incorruptible justice."

A man who writes thus of justice, knows well enough how and when justice should be administered. You and I, however, know the weakness and aberrations, eccentricities and prejudices of the human mind. An inuendo from the most casual acquaintance may unalterably warp our judgments of one another. Sydney Smith was but human and erring after all. Happily his prejudices were his defence, as they often are, to keep a man securely in the orbit in which he moves. Liberal as was his mind,

yet it recoiled at the loss of a million by the nonsensical scheme, as he calls it, of a penny post. Human infirmity is known, by but little self-examination, to every wise man by the time he is fifty, if he has at all lived at home, and examined the house of clay in which he resides. It is therefore needful to measure the character of Sydney Smith by the same standard of charity we apply to ourselves, and need so often. If we do this we cannot fail to place a high estimate on the man, however much we may be opposed to his party politics, or differ in opinion from him.

It is well known that Sydney Smith was a great friend to Catholic Emancipation. It is no reason, he thinks, that because the Catholics are intolerant, Protestants should be intolerant. It is no reason because Catholic France is intolerant to Protestants, Protestant England should be intolerant to Catholic Ireland. He goes through the French laws, and illustrates from these laws what Catholic intolerance will do to Protestants. The following are some of the Catholic laws, which he says, in "a letter to some electors," existed not a hundred and fifty years ago, to destroy Protestants in France.

"Any Protestant clergyman remaining in France three days without coming to the Catholic worship was to be punished with death." "To celebrate Protestant worship exposed the clergyman to a fine of 1,300 livres." "If any Protestant denied the authority of the Pope in France, his goods were seized for the first offence, and he was hanged for

the second." "Any person sending any money over the sea to support a Protestant school had to forfeit his goods, and be imprisoned at the King's pleasure." "Any person going over the sea for Protestant education, or sending his child, had to forfeit goods and lands for life." "Any person converting another to the Protestant religion to be put to death." "Large rewards for the discovery of a Protestant parson!!" "Every Protestant shall cause his child to be baptized within one month after birth, by a Catholic Priest, under the penalty of 2,000 livres." "Protestants were forbidden (bravo Louis!!) to travel more than five miles from home without a license." "All Protestants were required, under the most tremendous penalties, to swear they considered the Pope as the head of the Church."

I cannot take you into all the details of pains and penalties that these unhappy Protestants suffered. Refusing oaths, a penalty. Taking office, a penalty. Keeping schools, a penalty. Keeping a horse of the value of 100 livres was illegal, and it was liable to be seized at any time. After enumerating more of these disabilities, he asks, "Is not this a monstrous code of persecution? Is it any wonder, after reading such a code of tyranny, that the tendency of the Catholic religion should be suspected, and that the cry of no Popery should be the rallying sign of every Protestant nation in Europe?"

Sydney then drops on his reader thus:—  
"Forgive, gentle reader, and gentle elector, the

trifling deception I have practised upon you. This code is not a code made by French Catholics against French Protestants, but by English and Irish Protestants against English and Irish Catholics. I have given it to you for the most part as it is set forth in Burn's 'Justice,' of 1780. It was acted on in the last King's reign, and was notorious through the whole of Europe as the most cruel and atrocious system of persecution ever instituted by one religious persuasion against another."

Sydney Smith was a hearty good friend to the Catholics. Whenever he could find an opportunity, he vented some sarcasm at the folly of fixing upon any class of men stigmas and disabilities. His opinion was, that the man who was conscientious enough to refuse taking an oath, because it did not agree with his notions of right, was the very man to be trusted where his notions and his conscience were in accord. Everybody knows the worse the man the fewer the scruples. Sydney Smith hated the stigma and the exclusion, because it degraded a man in the eyes of the monopolising sect. He says—"I solemnly believe *blue* and *red* baboons to be more popular than Catholics and Presbyterians. When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples ; when he hears of a Dissenter, his immediate impulse is to commit it to the county gaol, to have its head shaved, to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped." The Irish gentleman was then treated very severely.

His own disinterested conscience occasioned him to be branded as a spiritual felon, and to be treated by every Protestant cheesemonger and tidewaiter with contempt.

He places the matter before the reader in a rather ridiculous light in the following extract, taken from the letters of Peter Plymley to his brother Abraham :—"There is a village (no matter where) in which the inhabitants, on one day in the year, sit down to a dinner prepared at the common expense. By an extraordinary piece of tyranny (which Lord Hawkesbury would call the wisdom of the village ancestors) the inhabitants of three of the streets, about one hundred years ago, seized upon the inhabitants of the fourth street, bound them hand and foot, laid them upon their backs, and compelled them to look on while the rest were stuffing themselves with beef and beer. The next year the inhabitants of the persecuted street (though they contributed an equal quota of the expense) were treated precisely in the same manner. The tyranny grew into a custom ; and, as the manner of our nature is, it was considered the most sacred of all duties to keep these poor fellows without their annual dinner. The village was so tenacious of this practice that nothing could induce them to resign it. Every enemy to it was looked upon as a disbeliever in Divine Providence ; and any nefarious churchwarden, who wished to succeed in his election, had nothing to do but represent his antagonist as an abolitionist, in order

to frustrate his ambition, endanger his life, and throw the village into a state of dreadful confusion. By degrees the street became so well peopled and firmly united, that their oppressors, more afraid of injustice, were disposed to be just. At the next dinner they are unbound. The year after allowed to sit upright. Then a bit of bread and a glass of water, till at last, after a long series of concessions, they are emboldened to ask in pretty plain terms to be allowed to sit down at the bottom of the table, and to fill their bellies as well as the rest. Forthwith a general cry of shame and scandal. Ten years ago were you not laid upon your backs? Do not you remember what a great thing you thought it to get a piece of bread? How thankful you were for the cheese parings? Have you forgotten that memorable era when the lord of the manor obtained for you a slice of the public pudding? And now, with impudence only equalled by your ingratitude, you have the audacity to ask for knives and forks, to sit down with the rest, and be indulged with beef and beer. There are not more than half-a-dozen dishes which we have reserved for ourselves, the rest have been thrown open to you in the utmost profusion. You have potatoes and carrots, suet dumplings, sops in the pan, and delicious toast and water in incredible quantities. Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and veal are ours, and if you were not the most restless of human beings, you would never think of aspiring to enjoy them. Is not this, my dainty brother Abraham,

the very nonsense and insult which is talked to and practised upon the Catholics?" May we not suppose that Sydney Smith foresaw the battle that some day or another must take place between the full paid rectors and their needy curates?

Sydney Smith shows in another of these letters the way to manage the Irish without any trouble. He says, "I saw some swine attempted to be driven the other day by a path to a field they had never been before. The man could not succeed. Instead of going north, the pigs rushed east, west, south, and refused to advance. A reinforcement of rustics was called for. Maids, children, neighbours, all helped. A general rushing, screaming, and roaring ensued, but the main object was not advanced in the slightest degree. After a long delay, a little boy was sent with a handful of barley. A few grains were scattered in the path, and the bristly herd were speedily and safely conducted to the place of their destination. So with us, after a long delay, we resolved to have recourse to Catholic Emancipation. If instead of putting Lord Stowell out of breath with driving, compelling the Duke of York to swear, and the Chancellor to strike at them, Lord Liverpool would condescend, in his graceful manner, to walk before the Catholic doctors with a basket of barley, what a deal of ink and blood would be saved to mankind!"

A society was formed for the suppression of vice as far back as 1804. By an article in the

*Review*, we learn that it did not meet with the approval of Sydney Smith. He hates public informers as a trade, and says, "no man of respectability will ever undertake the office," and he fears a public society, with public funds to disburse, "may become as great an evil as the evils they would suppress." No one can read this article, reviewing the proceedings of this society, without being struck with the great capabilities of the critic. Yet every one of us knows the evils of this society have been for the fifty years of its existence rather of the negative kind—suppressing too little vice, rather than suppressing too much. We newspaper readers notice now and then very good cases made out against people who, having been cruel to animals, have by this society been brought to justice. Sydney Smith does not like the society, and so he tries what he can do to raise opposition against it.

It is rather too far back for me to know anything of the effects of that article, but I know that the opposition he would raise would be of that healthy kind which would make the society keep a sharp look out not to fall into the very scrapes he predicted.

Notice how he writes :—"Nothing has disgusted us so much in the proceedings of this society as the control which they exercise over the amusements of the poor. One of the specious titles under which this legal meanness is gratified is prevention of cruelty to animals. Of cruelty to animals let the reader take the following specimens :—Running an

iron hook into the intestines of an animal ; presenting this animal to another as food, and then pulling this second creature up by the barb in his stomach. Riding a horse till he drops, in order to see an innocent animal torn to pieces by dogs. Keeping a poor animal upright for many weeks to give a peculiar hardness to his flesh. Making incisions into the flesh of another animal while living in order to make the muscles more firm. Immersing another animal while living in hot water. Now, we fairly admit that such abominable cruelties as these are worthy the interference of the law, and that the society should have them punished cannot be a matter of surprise to any feeling mind. But stop, gentle reader. These cruelties are the cruelties of the suppressing committee, not of the poor. You must not think of punishing these. The first of these cruelties passes under the pretty name of *angling*, and therefore there can be no harm in it, the more particularly as the president himself has one of the best preserved trout streams in England. The next is *hunting* ; and, as so many of the vice-presidents and of the committee hunt, it is not possible there can be any cruelty in hunting. The next is a process for making *brawn*, a dish never tasted by the poor, and therefore not to be disturbed by indictment. The fourth is the mode of *crimping* cod, and the fifth of boiling lobsters. All high life cruelties, with which a justice of the peace has no business to meddle. The real thing which calls forth the

sympathies, and harrows up the soul, is to see a number of boisterous artizans baiting a bull or a bear ; not a savage hare, or a carnivorous stag, but a poor innocent timid bear. The society detail, with symptoms of great complacency, their detection of a bear baiting in Blackboy-alley, and the prosecution of the offenders before a magistrate."

This is a specimen of the banter, the ingenious sarcasm, the refreshing tartness, with which Sydney Smith could use his pen.

I have but little doubt that the public opinion of his day was greatly led by his powerful writing into the habit of correct thinking. Opposition does us all good. We exercise more care in our plans and proceedings, when we know that they may be ridiculed, and care is of all things the best earnest of success. I do not think that finding fault with doing little is sound judgment. The little, I feel, is better than none at all. Still this article of our author must ever be considered of value, from the fearless manner in which the vices of the upper classes were denounced in it.

He says of gambling, the amusement of men of fashion, "Is there one gambling house this society has repressed?" Every gentleman knows the consequence of interference would be a complete exclusion from elegant society ; that the upper classes could not and would not endure it. "Nothing, therefore, remains for this society, but to rage at the Sunday dinners of the poor, and to prevent a bricklayer's

labourer from losing on the seventh day that beard which had been augmenting the other six." "At present this society should denominate themselves a society for suppressing the vices of persons whose income does not exceed £500 per annum. And then, to put all classes on an equal footing, there must be another society of barbers, butchers, and bakers, to return to the higher classes that moral character by which they are so highly benefited." I must confess that there is much that is true in this sarcasm, for it appears the society wrote to a country magistrate asking him to interfere in a village wake, that had been advertised in the public papers.

Leaving this subject, we will pass to another of his articles. Of course, if I wished to be remembered as a bore, I should give you some dry statistical details, and when I name Jeremy Bentham, I am afraid you will be in alarm, and will think I have chosen a subject nigh akin to dryness. But I shall be brief. Sydney Smith, I notice, has reviewed a book, which we all of us would do well to consider. You and myself have eyes, ears, and mouths, and we do not want to walk about intentionally with lies in our mouths. Yet, really, when we examine our opinions, more of them are fallacies than we think. Bentham was to Sydney Smith a very dry, mummy-like sort of person, who wrote dry, hard things, and put his thoughts in such shells as are very hard to get at, without the danger of breaking one's teeth. Sydney Smith undertakes

to translate him. He tells us that no one will read Bentham ; that the great mass of readers will never purchase improvement at such a dear rate, but will rather choose to become acquainted with Mr. Bentham through the medium of Reviews, after that "eminent philosopher has been washed, trimmed, shaved, and forced into clean linen."

The first of the popular fallacies, we are disposed to adopt, is to speak and think of our wise ancestors, the wisdom of ages, venerable antiquity. This is an absurd fallacy. Experience is the mother of wisdom. The old have, of course, more experience than the young. "Of individuals, living at the same time, the oldest has, of course, the greatest experience. But among generations of men, the reverse of this is true. Those who come first (our ancestors) are the young people, and have the least experience. We have added to their experience the experience of many centuries. Our ancestors up to the conquest were children in arms ; chubby boys in the time of Edward I. ; striplings under Elizabeth ; men in the reign of Anne ; and we only are the white bearded, silver headed ancients. We are not disputing with our ancestors the palm of talent, but the palm of experience, in which it is utterly impossible they can be our superiors."

In an extract Sydney Smith gives from Jeremy Bentham's book, Bentham says that, "in the reign of Henry the Eighth the House of Lords was in the possession of the largest proportion of the

instruction the age afforded ; yet among the laity of that body it is a question whether all of them could so much as read." He further shows that, in the times of that Solomon, James the First, there were marked out for punishment witches, devils, and exorcists. "In our day," says the extract, "the same object is effectually attained by a common newspaper. Before this talisman, not only devils, but ghosts, vampires, witches, and all their tribe are driven out of the land, never to return again. The touch of holy water is not so intolerable to them as the bare smell of printer's ink."

The next fallacy Sydney Smith calls attention to is making irrevocable laws. If a law be good, it will support itself ; if bad, it should not be supported by the irrevocable theory, which is never resorted to but as a veil to cover an abuse. All living men must possess supreme power over their own happiness at every particular period. To suppose that there is anything which the whole nation cannot do, because another generation, long ago dead and gone, said it must not be done, is mere nonsense. Bentham says, "The conduct and fate of all men would be determined by the aggregate body of the dead, and the aggregate body of the living would remain for ever in subjection to an inexorable tyranny, more severe than the despotism of Nero or Caligula." Sydney Smith says in another place, "When I hear a man talking of an unalterable law, the only effect it produces on me is to convince me he is an unalterable

fool." Sydney Smith very wisely adds, "Pause before you alter any law which has been deemed of so much importance as to be what is called an irrevocable law." This is good advice, and is the prudence and common sense of a large mind.

There is another fallacy or two discussed by Sydney Smith, to which I shall direct your attention—the fallacy of "no innovation." "To say that all old things are bad, is to say that all old things were bad in their commencement. For of all the old things ever seen or heard of, there is not one that was not once new. The first inventor of pews and parish clerks was, no doubt, considered as a Jacobin in his day. Judges, juries, criers of the court, are all inventions of ardent spirits, who filled the world with alarm, and were considered as the great precursors of ruin and desolation. No inoculation, no turnpikes, no reading, no writing, no Popery. The fool sayeth in his heart and cryeth with his mouth, 'I will have nothing new.'"

This was written before the days of chloroform and vaccination, railways and lucifers. I fancy that had Sydney Smith had the advantage of all our new inventions and innovations, he would even more pointedly and sarcastically have hit off the dangers of innovation. His mind was very suitably fitted for progress. He says, "Were the prosperity of the country tenfold as great as at present, it is absurd to suffer evils which can be cured, because other countries suffer patiently under greater evils."

Sentiments which every thinking mind of modern date accepts as its principles.

The fallacy of procrastination, or the "wait a little longer" school, is well criticised. "This is not the time," we all of us know well enough is the common phrase used to knock all efforts on the head. Sydney Smith puts the following question to himself :—"Which is the most proper day to remove a nuisance ? The very first day a man can be found to propose the removal of it. There is in the minds of very many an imaginary period for the removal of evils. These are the periods when fair weather philosophers are willing to venture out, and hazard a little for the general good. But the history of human nature is contrary to all this. Almost all improvements are made after the bitterest resistance, and in the midst of tumults and civil violence."

This opposition to all improvements and suggestions makes me remark that Sydney Smith himself opposed the ballot ; but, seeing so large a party anxious for it, I cannot help thinking it would be wise to try on some disfranchised boroughs, whether the ballot might not be the very thing to cure the enormous corruption produced by bribery. I know no way so safe as to make experiments on a small scale. It does not do to tamper with vast questions, or wholly ignore them, any more than it is wise to change a policy suddenly that has prevailed for a long time. As wise men, we should provide against the disturbance of the proper balance of our

minds by the calms which are ever found to follow the storms. Periods like these we are now living in are periods in which to try experiments and study the social relations of families one to the other, the religious influences on character, the evils of despotism, whether in the church, army, or navy, county or borough, in the family, or out of it. These periods, I say, are useful for learning the habits of men, and trying those needful experiments, by which only truth can be arrived at. We little know the numerous classes, cliques, and castes that are to be found in our own nationalities, nor the amount of fanaticism and superstition that exists, which a sound system of investigation and education, universally diffused, would extinguish. Between the extremes of a Liverpool merchant and a Cambridge don, the bar and the loom, Scotch philosophy and Irish eloquence, the Newmarket racer and the follower of Mormon, exist innumerable groups, grades, and stations, that exercise influence on public opinion. To trace the influences of these social varieties, calmly and quietly, is the business of a wise philosophy and a careful generalization. We know the lightning of the thunder cloud to be electricity, but we have yet to learn the causes of those moral and social reactions, which split the union of humanity into shivers. Granting minds like Luther and Philip II., Charles I. and Cromwell, to be sincere in their one-sidedness, we look for the discovery and development of a principle, by which the moral equilibrium of such

minds shall be governed, subdued, restrained, and kept in order, so that the masses may make them servicable for social progress and happiness, as we do the forces of steam and electricity, the one to drive our engines, the other to send our messages. The solution of this great problem lies, I think, in giving that kind of education, seen to have been so much wanted in the education of George III., which shall best secure to all a large, accurate, and exact, as well as a quick perception of consequences. Evil will be seen as such, good will be known and valued as such, and man will be truly free, in proportion as he, by this education, obtains knowledge and individual dominion over himself.

As I before named, the proof that Sydney Smith was a correct thinker is well shown by the successful application of so many of his suggestions. Had it been left with him, the universities would have long ago been improved by the introduction of modern studies.

It would do every grammar school master good to read his essay, "Too much Latin and Greek." He does not undervalue classical learning, but he would not have it made so superlatively the base of a good education. He would have the grammar of one language well mastered, for the mastery which a perfect comprehension of one fundamental language gives over every other. He would have Greek cultivated, because "the great part of the Scriptures have come down to us in Greek, and education should

be so planned as to produce a good supply of Greek scholars." But he would not have classical learning occupy the time it does, from seven years old till twenty-three. He speaks of this exclusive attention as being too much of a good thing. "It is a foundation so far above ground that there is absolutely no room to put anything upon it." Grey-headed old men may be found with such exaggerated notions of the value of classical learning and Latin verses, that it is quite clear "if men's ages are to be dated from the state of their mental progress, such men are eighteen years of age, and not a day older."

These strictures on grammar school teaching of Latin and Greek might be extended to the manner in which arithmetic is frequently taught in some of our public schools. Too little time is given to teaching the principles of the rules, and too much to the mere details of working the commoner kinds of sums, which are repeated over and over again, as though expertness were everything to be secured. The advance from rule to rule is often made a very slow and tedious affair. Now, if a boy is taught the meaning of technical words, and has explained to him the meaning of scientific terms, and is well drilled in the preliminary mathematical steps of Euclid and Algebra, you have supplied his faculties with right and proper furniture, that will furnish him with reasons and information for doing that which he is called upon to understand or perform in life. What I would have taught, explained, and

understood, would be a series of well ordered examples of each rule of arithmetic, from simple addition to vulgar fractions. I would then have Algebra and Euclid taught, as being of far more value than mere cleverness or expertness of calculation. It is a very easy thing, for a lad in a counting house, to acquire in a few months as much facility in addition and multiplication, and the casting out of accounts, as that office or business requires; but it is a task of tremendous difficulty, and one seldom attempted, for a lad, ignorant of the terms and technicalities belonging to mathematical knowledge, to acquire such knowledge, after he has left his school. Yet this kind of information will in his future general reading be of essential service and improvement to him.

It is more than fifty years since this article on "Too much Latin and Greek" was penned; and, judging from the progress made in that time, we have no doubt when Sydney Smith ventured to put along with learned men Lavoisier, the chemist, and Adam Smith, the political economist, he was a good deal in advance of his age. It seems to us a long time to wait and to be hopeful, but we certainly see, in this very criticism, a memorable instance of casting one's bread on the water, and finding it after many days. Sydney Smith says of Oxford, "When a university has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. A set of lectures upon political economy would be discouraged in Oxford, probably despised,

probably not permitted." In a foot note we find these same lectures now established. I do not know that I can do better than read you the closing remarks of this article. Sydney Smith is not of that Red Republican order, which would simply destroy, and plant nothing useful or good in its stead; but he tells young men generally that he would bring strongly before their minds the characters of those Englishmen who have been the steady friends of public happiness, and by their examples would he breathe into them *pure* public taste, which should keep them untainted under all the vicissitudes of political fortune.

He does not confine his value of knowledge to classical and political, but he also says, "He would give all knowledge an equal chance for distinction, and would trust to the varieties of human disposition that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated. We should not care whether a man were a naturalist, chemist, or scholar, because we know it to be as necessary that matter should be subdued to the use of man, as that taste should be gratified and imagination inflamed."

Whether this knowledge is best obtained in public schools, or not, is discussed in another article on public schools. He disposes of their value by giving the names of a galaxy of philosophers, literary men, and public men, who were not so educated, and ends by concluding that the best kind of education is that which mingles a domestic with a school life.

The advantage, he thinks, is quite on the side of education being conducted under the affectionate vigilance of parents. He would have boys trained in schools, large enough to excite emulation, and give insight into human character; but he detests a system "that gives the eldest boys an absurd and pernicious opinion of their own importance. \* \* \*

The *head* of a public school is generally a very conceited young man, literally ignorant of his own dimensions, and losing all that habit of conciliation towards others, and that anxiety for self-improvement, which results from the natural modesty of youth." He would have control used carefully, so that the child may be fitted for complete emancipation when he becomes a man. We have known, in many cases, control used to the hurt of the child, so that it grew up without a mind of its own. Had the mind of such a child been trained to run alone, the little failures of childhood would have been the very means of strengthening character and self-dependence, and preventing the greater failures of manhood. I have no notion of schooling, which does not admit of

liberty as well as watchfulness. Some of you remember, I dare say, hearing of a lad who was never suffered by his parents to romp and bathe, and when asked why not? "I am not to bathe till I can swim," was the reply of this tender coddled boy.

Sydney Smith very pointedly says that "the vital and essential part of a school is the master; \* \* The morality of boys is generally very imperfect;

their notions of honour extremely mistaken; and their objects of ambition frequently very absurd." In a public school only a few boys "derive any considerable benefit from the character, manners, and information of the master, and boys forming the character of boys, leave the work very imperfectly done."

It does not seem an ill time to bring in a few remarks from his writings as to the education of young ladies. If he is going to fit up all the young men with such vast acquirements, it certainly is needful that the companions of young men should be treated in no inferior manner. I am quite sure the ladies owe a debt of gratitude to Sydney Smith; for it is his opinion, that the difference which may be perceived between the understandings of men and women, is wholly to be accounted for by the different circumstances in which they have been placed. "As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt and trundle hoops together, they are precisely alike." "If you catch up one-half of these creatures, and train them up to a particular set of actions and opinions, and the other half to a perfectly opposite set, of course their understandings will differ, as one or the other sort of occupations has called this or that talent into action." There are some philosophers, however, who treat the matter as an impossibility. How is it, say they exultingly, that you find so little

invention and proficiency in women, if they are not the weaker? \*

The principle of equality of powers of mind settled, our author seeks to persuade loving husbands that such increase of learning, as he would have wives acquire, need not, by any means, interfere with domestic duties. "Now," says he, "there is a very general notion that the moment you put the education of women on a better footing, at that moment there will be an end of domestic economy; that if you once suffer women to eat of the tree of knowledge, the rest of the family will be very soon reduced to the same kind of aerial and unsatisfactory diet. These, and all such opinions, are referable to one great and common cause of error, that man does everything, and that nature does nothing." He removes the difficulty thus:—"If the objection against a better education could be overruled, one of the great advantages that would ensue would be the extinction of innumerable follies. A century past education was for housewifery, now it is for accomplishments." "A great deal is said in favor of the social nature of the fine arts; music gives pleasure to others; drawing is an art which does not centre in him who uses it, but is diffused among the rest of the world. This is true; but there is nothing after all so social as the cultivated mind of a lady. We appeal to any man whether a little spirited and

\* It has been said by one of the French philosophers, I do not remember which, that there is a slight difference in the constituents of the blood in men and women—that the blood of females contains a small proportion of water more than that of men.

sensible conversation, displaying modestly useful acquirements, and evincing rational curiosity, is not well worth the highest exertions of musical or graphical skill. Therefore, instead of hanging the understanding of a woman upon the walls, or hearing it vibrate upon strings, we would make it the first spring and ornament of society, by enriching it with attainments upon which alone such power depends." It would be far too long a task to go over the whole of this admirable essay. I shall briefly conclude the remarks on this subject of female education by the following :—" If women knew more, men must know more, for ignorance would then be shameful, and it would become the fashion to be instructed."

I have said that the heart of Sydney Smith was a truly sound and manly heart, made of flesh and not of stone. It will be remembered that not many years since chimney sweepers kept "little boys for small flues." Sydney Smith thought this cruel, and in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* he denounced the practice of using these poor little wretches, of five or six years old, for ascending dangerous and choked flues. Sydney Smith allows there is a necessity for chimneys to be swept; and, as chimneys are made, and accidents will occur, it is urged that the employment of these climbing boys is a necessary evil; in fact, as Sydney Smith puts the question, the boys are viewed as an absolute necessity. "A large party are invited to dinner,—a great display is to be made;—and about an hour before dinner, there

is an alarm that the kitchen chimney is on fire ! It is impossible to put off the distinguished personages who are expected. It gets very late for the *soup* and *fish*—the cook is frantic—all eyes are turned on the sable consolation of the master chimney sweeper—and up into the midst of the burning chimney is sent one of these miserable little infants of the brush. Now what is a toasted child, compared to the agonies of the mistress of the house, with a deranged dinner?" Sydney Smith proceeds with the proof that such cruelties are too true, and, besides, he shows how boys were not only thus burnt, but were often crippled and stuck fast in chimneys. Sooty beds, and a skin unwashed for years, were small evils by the side of bloody knees and elbows. Sore eyes and cancerous affections were shown also to belong to this occupation.

The occupation of a critic is one which might almost satisfactorily employ universal knowledge. I do not think Sydney Smith's acquirements give him so high a place as many of the writers of recent times have secured. When we read his articles, we do not find that fulness of information and illustration that we find flowing from the pens of Brewster or Gifford, Barrow or Jeffery, Macaulay or Rogers, but we find, associated with uncommon sound sense, a happiness of expression, and so much pleasantry, as to make him a delightful companion. His criticism on Waterton's *Wanderings in South America* is a very good specimen of this pleasantry. Waterton,

it seems, went to South America to find out the composition of the Wourali poison, the ingredient with which the Indians poison their arrows. It appears to be manufactured from a vine growing in the forest of Wourali. The journey was one of danger. Hyenas, jaguars, and snakes seem to have been the common denizens of many of the leagues he wearily traversed. Sydney Smith thus speaks of snakes and tigers:—"Snakes are certainly an annoyance; but the snake, though high spirited, is not quarrelsome. If you tread on him, he puts you to death for your clumsiness, merely because he does not understand what your clumsiness means; and certainly, a snake who feels fourteen or fifteen stone stamping on his tail, has little time for reflection, and may be allowed to be poisonous and peevish. American tigers generally run away, from which several respectable gentlemen in Parliament inferred, in the American war, that American soldiers would run away also." Speaking of the insects of these infested regions he writes:—"Insects are the curse of tropical climates; the *bête rouge* lays the foundation of a tremendous ulcer. In a moment you are covered with ticks, chigoes bury themselves in your flesh, and hatch a large colony of young chigoes in a few hours; they will not live together, but every chigoe sets up a separate ulcer, and has his own private portion of pus. Flies get entry into your mouth, into your eyes, into your nose; you eat flies, drink flies, and breathe flies. Lizards, cockroaches, and

snakes get into the beds ; ants eat up the books ; scorpions sting you on the foot ; everything bites, stings, or bruises. An insect with eleven legs is swimming in your tea cup ; a nondescript with nine wings is struggling in the small beer ; or, a caterpillar, with several dozen eyes in his belly, is hastening over the bread and butter ! All nature is alive, and seems to be gathering up her hosts to eat you up, as you are standing out of your coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Such are the tropics. All this reconciles us to our dews, fogs, vapours, and drizzle, to our apothecaries, rushing about with gargles and tinctures, to our old British constitutional coughs, sore throats, and swelled faces." Sydney Smith and Emerson would have been good friends ; the American and Englishman would agree well. Emerson has popularly related some of the disagreeable agreeables of England. He says, "England subsists by antagonisms and contradictions. The foundations of its greatness are the rolling waves, and from first to last it is a museum of anomalies. This foggy and rainy country furnishes the world with astronomical observations. Its short rivers do not afford water power, but the land shakes under the thunder of the mills. There is no gold mine of any importance, but there is more gold in England than in all other countries. It is too far north for vines, but the wines of all countries are in its docks. Steam is its power ; it is almost an Englishman. I do not know but that they will send him to

Parliament next, to make laws. No man can afford to walk, with trains at a penny a mile. Gas burners are cheaper than daylight in numberless floors in the cities."

Sydney Smith's criticisms extended to the north, as well as the south. North American statistics is a subject he treated of in an article bearing date about 1818. The suggestions which this volume of statistics was full of, led Sydney Smith to write a very amusing passage, which I will read to you, on the smaller American cost for doing things. Be it observed, that the Postmaster-General of America gets £750 a year, which Sydney Smith contrasts with the large salaries of our noblemen postmasters thus:—"If, however, we were ever to indulge in the Saxon practice of looking into affairs, some important documents might be derived from these American salaries. Jonathan sees no reason why the first clerk of the House of Commons should derive emoluments of £6,000 or £7,000 a year. But Jonathan is vulgar and arithmetical." He then points out to the Americans the folly of war and the cost of its glory. "We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory. Taxes upon every article which enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes upon everything on earth, and the water under the earth,

on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home ; taxes on raw material ; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man ; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug which restores him to health ; taxes on the ermine of the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal ; on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice ; on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride ; at bed or board we pay taxes for our glory. The schoolboy whips his taxed top ; the beardless youth rides his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road ; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine (which has paid seven per cent.) into a spoon, (that has paid fifteen per cent.) flings himself back on his chintz bed, (which has paid twenty-two per cent.) and expires in the arms of an apothecary, who has paid a license fee of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel. His virtues are handed down on taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his fathers, to be taxed no more. Every wise Jonathan should remember this."

Having now looked at Sydney Smith as a preacher, a wit, and a critic, we will look at him as a public speaker. In his collected works are given some few speeches as to reform. His fine, capacious, humorous mind is seen to as great advantage in these compositions as in his criticisms. His design is to

arouse enthusiasm, cultivate among his hearers a sympathy for his subject, produce conviction, banter his antagonists, and ridicule their efforts. Hark how he does it. He wants to do away with the rotten borough system. His antagonists seem to say it would be madness to part with them, for we have grown rich and powerful with them. "There happens," says he, "gentlemen, to live near my parsonage a labouring man, of very superior character and understanding to his fellow labourers; he has saved a considerable sum, and, if his existence is extended, he will probably die rich. It happens, however, that he is troubled with violent stomachic pains, for which he has hitherto obtained no relief. Now, if my excellent labourer were to send for a physician, and to consult him respecting this malady, would it not be very singular language if our doctor were to say to him,—‘My good friend, you surely will not be so rash as to attempt to get rid of these pains in your stomach. Have you not grown rich with these pains in your stomach? Have you not risen from poverty to prosperity under them? Has not your situation been improving every year? You will surely not be so foolish as to part with your pains?’ What would be the answer of the honest rustic? ‘Monster of rhubarb! I am not rich in consequence of the pains of my stomach, but I should have been ten times richer and fifty times happier if I had never any pains in my stomach at all.’ Gentlemen, these rotten boroughs are the

pains in your stomach, and you would have been a much greater and a much richer people if you had never had them at all." I shall give another specimen of his oratory, on the occasion of the celebrated defeat of the reform bill, in the House of Lords. He went down to Taunton election, and thus addressed the people, infuriated with their loss :—"The loss of the bill I do not feel, and for the best of all possible reasons,—because I have not the slightest idea that it is lost. I have no more doubt that this bill will pass, than I have that the annual tax bills will pass, and greater certainty than this no man can have, for Franklin tells us there are but two things certain in this world, death and taxes. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform, reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824, there set in a great flood upon that town; the tide rose to an incredible height, the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction! In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house, with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused, Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you the contest was unequal; the Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington.

She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease, be quiet and steady, you will beat Mrs. Partington." I question whether the powerful pen of Junius ever perpetrated a severer blow on his foes, than this admirably told story perpetrated on the House of Lords.

There are other portions of his works—his lectures, which I have left untouched. I feel I cannot do justice to his memory without referring to their excellence. I was much pleased with one, on the conduct of the understanding, as it reminds young people that "labour and genius are not incompatible." He shows how genius, though overlooked for the first half of life, which has been spent in intense and incessant labour, has often risen from its obscurity by some little accident, which has given its possessors their first opportunity. "Then do the multitude cry out a miracle of genius, because he is a miracle of labour, and has ransacked a thousand minds." In this lecture he cautions men against the foppery of universality of knowledge, of knowing all sciences and excelling in all arts; a little well done is better than a good deal indifferently done. He especially directs "the ambition of a man not to know books, but things." He says:—"It is no more necessary that a man should remember the different dinners and suppers which have made him healthy, than the different books that have made him wise. Let us see the result of good food in a

strong body, and the result of great reading in a full and powerful mind." He likes also the manly candour of confessing ignorance by a plain declaration, rather than hiding it under a sneaking subterfuge. "It is quite refreshing, and creates an immediate prepossession in favour of the person in whom it is avowed." He recommends men to understand what they say, to know the meaning of words, and to be able to give a clear account of those which they often use so positively. *Nature, justice, virtue, chance*, are among the words he names as used without any doubt of their meaning, but which have been embarrassing to Locke, Leibnitz, and Descartes, who were never able to agree upon them. The instrument which he suggests to overturn the tyranny of these kinds of adjectives and substantives are grammar, definition, and interpretation.

Sydney Smith also had a high opinion of discussions. He observes:—"When two men meet together, who love truth, and discuss any difficult point with good nature, it always imparts steadiness and certainty to one's knowledge; or, what is of nearly equal value, discussions convince us of our ignorance." We all know it must not be a habit of contradiction; that would become tiresome and disgusting, separate friendships, produce faction, cause unseemly schisms, and injure the progress of truth.

He also recommends men to try to become acquainted with their idiosyncrasies, and find out whether their minds are acute, or witty, quick, or

slow, accurate, or hasty, sound in judgment, or imaginative. "It is a prodigious point gained, if any man can find out where his powers lie, and what are his deficiencies." Whatever you are inclined to from "nature, keep to it, never desert your own line of talent. If Providence only intended you to write poesies for rings, or mottoes for twelfth cakes, keep to poesies or mottoes. A good motto is more respectable than a villianous twelve book epic poem. Be what nature intended you to be, and you will succeed."

Sydney Smith inculcates humility and charity, by telling us we should never despise any sort of talent. It is all good, God made it all. All the diversities are only to improve, exalt, and gladden life. A grave man cannot conceive the use of wit; the common sense man does not understand the theorist. There is a strong disposition for men of opposite minds to despise each other. He reminds us that wit flavours life; common sense directs actions wisely; "ridicule chastises folly and impudence; subtlety seizes hold of the fine threads of truth; analogy darts away to the most sublime discoveries, and feeling paints the passions of the soul." It is seldom we find these diversities of genius and intellectual power better placed before the mind of the reader.

In these same lectures he gives the caution of "not attempting to appear quicker than you really are." Men like to appear quick, because they

consider quickness indicative of cleverness; but, before becoming so, they must submit to be slow.

I might add to Sydney Smith's remark here, that I have observed that very quick sighted men have often left something in a bargain, arrangement, or agreement, unnamed and unsettled, because they thought that the advantage was on their side by keeping it private. I have seen these same advantages become costly affairs—very productive of lawsuits—and consumers of a good deal of precious time. If ever men would agree to be candid in the rules of life, you may depend on it money and happiness would be gained. I knew a farmer, a very clever fellow, who always turned the market against himself, because merchants knew him to be so sharp in his deliveries, that it required sixpence a bushel for caution money, to secure themselves against a possible loss in trading with him.

Before bidding adieu to Sydney Smith, it will be worth while to see the man at home, just to have a peep at that domesticity which belongs to him in common with all of us.

You may be, and doubtless are aware, that Sydney Smith was in his earlier days anything but a rich man; that he was no pluralist; and, though a friend to the Whigs, and perhaps one of the most serviceable friends the party ever had, yet he was made neither a dean nor a bishop.

He had served the Whigs with heart and soul; but, as is not the very unusual course of this party,

it was a sufficient reason to neglect him. Sydney Smith might have been a bishop, since his party ultimately obtained power, but the mitre was not permitted to adorn his brow. Like an old pair of boots, worn out, he was not wanted, and so was cast aside.

In his early life the Winchester school-boy is seen to make way as a scholar in very good style. He does not seem to have been oppressed by the weight of family or pedigree. If advance was to be made, it was to be done all by himself. Once, in reply to a lady of fashion, as to his grandfather, he laughingly made it appear that his grandfather had disappeared about the time of the assizes, "and so," says he, "we asked no questions." This was said to ridicule the laboured attempt of Scott to establish a pedigree.

College over, Sydney Smith starts as a curate, in Salisbury plain. Leaving his parish of Netherhaven, he engages as tutor to the squire's son. He puts in to Edinburgh, instead of taking a journey to Saxony, because of the war. After a four years' sojourn, he thinks of the project of the *Edinburgh Review*. This was in 1802. He was then thirty-three years of age. We next find him in London. He gets a circle of literary friends around him, and is introduced into the not unsuitable company of Holland House. This was rather a severe ordeal, for we find him complaining of bashfulness—of shyness. His funds were low, a very good cause at

any time for bashfulness and shyness. He could not afford a hackney coach, and, according to his own account, carried his dress shoes in his pocket. "The servants used to stare at me at first," he says, "but I made them laugh, and they got used to me." We admire his character here. It was strong enough to practice living within his means. "Poverty, sir," on one occasion he remarked, "is no disgrace to any man, but is confoundedly inconvenient."

We find him afterwards advanced to a rectory in Yorkshire, and this is what he says of himself in that new condition of life:—"A diner-out, a wit, and a popular preacher, I was suddenly caught up by the Archbishop of York, and transported to my living in Yorkshire, where there had not been a resident clergyman for a hundred and fifty years. Fresh from London, not knowing a turnip from a carrot, I was compelled to farm three hundred acres, and, without capital, to build a parsonage house. It made me a very poor man for many years, but I never repented it. I turned schoolmaster, to educate my son, as I could not afford to send him to school. Mrs. Sydney turned schoolmistress, to educate my girls, as I could not afford a governess. I turned farmer, as I could not let my land. A man servant was too expensive, so I caught up a little garden girl, made like a mile-stone, christened her Bunch, put a napkin in her hand, and made her my butler. The girls taught her to read, Mrs. Sydney to wait, and I undertook her morals. Bunch became the

best butler in the county. I had little furniture, so I bought a cart load of deals, took a carpenter who came to me for parish relief, called Jack Robinson, with a face like a full moon, into my service, established him in a barn, and said, 'Jack, furnish my house.' You see the result. At last it was suggested that a carriage was wanted in the establishment. After a diligent search, I discovered in the back settlements of a York coach-maker an ancient green chariot, supposed to have been the earliest invention of the kind. I brought it home in triumph to my admiring family. Being somewhat dilapidated, the village tailor lined it, the village blacksmith repaired it; nay, but for Mrs. Sydney's earnest entreaties, we believe the village painter would have exercised his genius upon the exterior. It escaped this danger, however, and the result was wonderful. Each year added to its charms. It grew younger and younger; a new wheel, a new spring. I christened it the *immortal*. It was known all over the neighbourhood. The village boys cheered it, and the village dogs barked at it. But I am the architect of my own fortune. *Faber meæ fortunæ* was my motto, and we had no false shame. Added to all these domestic cares, I was village parson, village doctor, village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh reviewer. So you see I had not much time left on my hands to regret London. My house was considered the ugliest in the county, but all admitted it was one of the most comfortable; and we did not

die, as our friends had predicted, of the damp walls of the parsonage."

He almost expected he was fixed in the old rectory house of Foston for life. Twenty-two years passed and he was still the inmate of the same old parsonage house, the incumbent of the self-same parish.

He had not even to thank his Whig friends for the change, when it did come, but the friendship of Lord Lyndhurst, who bestowed on him a stall vacant in Bristol. However, in four years or so, we find the Whig Lord Grey pushing him into a prebend's stall of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Fixed in his new residence of Combe Florey, we find the same good humoured Sydney Smith that we did at the old parsonage house of Foston. Prosperity does not seem to have damaged him. He was always fond of saving, but it seems that saving habits did not usurp dominion over the kitchen or the larder. His mind was what might be called a well-balanced mind. If he was fond of the table, it was when he was hungry and thirsty. There is no joke of his meanness going the round, as of many; as, for instance, of one of our law lords, noted for love of wine and money, of whom it was said he could drink any *given* quantity of wine. Smith, as soon as he could afford it, kept a good table, and hospitality along with it. The only place where I can find Smith assume reputation as a poet

is at the dinner table. In this new character he figures in a recipe for a salad :—

“Let onion atoms lurk within the bowl,  
And, scarce suspected, animate the whole.” &c.

One of my literary friends thinks it well for Smith's reputation that he wrote no more poetry. His daughter, Lady Holland, said he would enter his parlour in the morning, with the contentedness of mind marked by the expression—“Thank God for Combe Florey,” throwing himself, as he uttered it, into his red arm chair. It is this state of mind that gave his wit its innocence, that freed it from the vulgarity so often associated with the dullard's habit. Nothing in the world is more common than to hear a smutty story, a double-entendre, or a cant phrase in a commercial room, coffee room, or even within the precincts of college walls, retailed and palmed off by some ignorant puppy, as so much wit and humour. I confess that wit and humour are very often associated with something not the most delicate and refined; indeed, it has been gravely questioned whether vulgarity is not often at the bottom of all that is witty or humorous. But this I do say of Sydney Smith, that his worst specimens are purity by the side of Fielding, Smollett, or Swift; and I do hope that so much will be remembered of his moral excellencies of character, that he will not become the absorbent of other men's trash. It is almost certain his reputation for wit is one that will be an increasing one, and that he will have

given to him the credit of many a witty remark that he never made.

It is for this reason I would have it remembered, when anything of the Joe Miller kind is sought to be attached to the fame of Sydney Smith, that he it is who writes of wit and humour thus :—  
 “I am convinced that the tendency of both is to corrupt the understanding and the heart. I am not speaking of wit when it is kept down by more serious qualities of mind, and thrown into the background of the picture, but when it stands out boldly and emphatically, and is evidently the master quality of the mind. Professed wits, though they are generally courted for the amusement they afford, are seldom respected for the qualities they possess.”  
 Yet, on the other hand, he is careful to warn us of a serious misconception of the characters of men that we are very likely to make. The outward signs of a dull man and a wise man are the same; so also are the outward signs of a frivolous man and a witty man. Hence he would have us to be very careful in not confounding that which is similar in appearance, but very dissimilar in reality. He thinks that almost all the great men of all times have been occasionally witty. He tells us that Cæsar and Aristotle, Descartes and Lord Bacon, were witty men; as also were Cicero and Shakspeare, Solon and Pope, Socrates and Dr. Johnson, and almost every man in the House of Commons, who has made a distinguished figure.

Dismissing his remarks and observations of wit, we give the following as quoted, of his own merry, jocular, and good-tempered manner, when in the company of the young. "Some one mentioned that a young slim Scotchman was about to marry an Irish widow, double his age, and of very large dimensions. 'Going to marry her,' he exclaimed, bursting out laughing, 'impossible, you mean a part of her. He could not marry all of her himself. It would be a case not of bigamy, but of trigamy. The neighbourhood or the magistrate should interfere. There is enough of her to furnish wives for the whole parish. One man marry her, it is monstrous. You might people a colony with her; or, perhaps, take your morning's walk round her, always provided there were frequent resting places, and you were in rude health. I was once rash enough to walk round her before breakfast, but only got half way, and gave it up exhausted. Or you might read the riot act to disperse her. In short, you might do anything but marry her.' 'Oh, Mr. Sydney,' said a young lady present, recovering from the general laugh, 'did you make all that yourself?' 'Yes, Lucy,' throwing himself back in his chair, and shaking with laughter, 'all myself, child, all my own thunder. Do you think when I am about to make a joke I send for my neighbours, or consult the clerk and churchwarden upon it? But let us all go into the garden.' And, all laughing till we cried, we sallied forth out of his 'glorified' window, which he

called the one that led into the garden." This cheerful kindness of manner displayed itself not only in his social intercourse, but in his political convictions. It filled him with a sincere desire for those permanent blessings of society which ensue from peace and its arts.

Hence we shall not be surprised to find that Sydney Smith's sympathies went with peace societies and ladies' "Olive Branch" meetings. He says, "Societies have been instituted for the preservation of peace and for lessening the love of war. They deserve every encouragement. If three men were to have their legs broken, and remain all night exposed to the inclemency of the weather, the whole country would be in a dreadful state of agitation. Look at the wholesale death of a field of battle; ten acres covered with dead and half-dead, and dying, and the shrieks and agonies of many thousand human beings. There is more of misery inflicted in one year of war, than by all the civil peculations and oppressions of a century. Yet it is a state into which the mass of mankind rush with the greatest avidity, hailing official murderers in scarlet, gold, and cock feathers, as the greatest and most glorious of human creatures.. It is the business of every wise and good man to set himself against this passion for military glory, which really seems to be the most fruitful source of human misery."

I now close my address on Sydney Smith and his writings, a name that every one of us must

respect. He was no counterfeit coin, no brass guinea, but good sound currency among the race of men; one anxious for the happiness of the world, and for its diffusion in all the chinks and crevices of social life. His intellect retained its brightness to the last. Dying in the fulness of years, it may be said of him as Addison said of himself to his stepson, “See in what peace a Christian can die.” In the language of the *Edinburgh Review* we may say of his character, “That when we wish to think better of the world, we remember our great, wise, and benevolent friend Sydney Smith.”

## THE PROGRESS OF GLASGOW.

WHILST staying in Glasgow to attend the meetings of the British Association, held there in the year 1855, under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll, I availed myself of the opportunity which it gave me to visit some of the manufactories opened to the view of the members. Having been much interested with the diversities of employments that Glasgow has developed for her increased population, it occurred to me that, as so many of you are connected with trade and commerce, it might prove an interesting subject, and commend itself to your attention.

Glasgow, independently of its antiquity, is a remarkable city, perhaps the most remarkable in the British Empire. Its magnitude, beauty, and extensive commerce, in a thousand ways show this. It is a seat of so many distinct branches of manufacture, giving such different descriptions of employment to labour and intellectual power. It has similar manufactures to those carried on specially in Manchester, St. Helens, Birmingham, the Potteries, Macclesfield, Norwich, and Newcastle; besides having its own manufactures of muslins, and

a herring trade like Yarmouth. Glasgow is also a Liverpool on a smaller scale, for the sale of cotton, the refining of sugar, and importation of dyes. It draws a cheap supply of coal from its innumerable pits, which are conveniently situated in every direction around the city. Its coal and iron have doubtless been very main elements of success in these manufactures, for coal reduces the iron-stone of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire into valuable metal, ready for the artizan to fashion into the steam engine, and all the highly-wrought machinery of the cotton mill, the weaving shed, and print works, for which Glasgow is renowned. Glasgow is also the seat of large chemical works,—the St. Rollux, the largest in the world, covering ten or twelve acres of ground—where sulphuric acid, chloride of lime, soap and soda are made. Glasgow is said also to be the only place where iodine is prepared from the sea-weed of this northerly coast, for the use of the dyer, the photographer, and the physician. Glasgow has Glass Works of no ordinary size, for the manufacture of flint glass and bottles; six hundred, also, of its people get employed in making tobacco pipes. Glasgow builds the finest iron ships in the world, fills them with first-class steam engines, and then sends them off with the various produce of her many works to one colony or another, where these products are doled out in smaller retail parcels by her own Scotchmen, who appear to have left the mother city for the very

purpose only of looking after its prosperity. The Scotch may be said to have the characteristic of looking after the interests of their friends very strongly marked. No people, whilst studying their individual interests, forget less the family circles that they have left. Their hopes and their affections centre there. Scotland is to the Scotchman as Judea is to the Jew; he looks to the time when he shall be able to have saved enough to return. And when he returns from abroad, his greatest ambition is to further the interests of his country, by imparting his knowledge to his friends; and he it is who supplies them with the requisite information to enable them still further to spread abroad the commerce and the fame of their favoured city.

It was said some years since, by Dr. Cleland, of steam-engine building, that there were at Glasgow more than thirty different kinds of manufacture where steam-engines were used, at once corroborative evidence of the unceasing energy and activity of its inhabitants. Whilst Glasgow has succeeded in all these different manufactures, uniting within herself the businesses and trades of almost every other town and city in the United Kingdom, she has by no means neglected art nor science. Her University press stands high. Her Art Union is rising at this time rapidly in public esteem. Her paintings, which were exhibited at this time of the meetings of the British Association, were rare and valuable. Her streets, paved in the best possible manner, show

great taste in the laying out of a princely accumulation of capital. Her large and elegantly built warehouses, as receptacles for goods, show the vast native production required to supply the demand of the people at home and abroad; nor has the construction of these warehouses been overlooked in design, or in the skilful arrangement of details. Her University, attended by 1,400 students, whose studies are directed by a principal and twenty-four professors, and her Hunterian Museum, of European celebrity, show that the people themselves know and appreciate the value of knowledge. Every thing, I believe, may be found in this city, by which science may be cultivated, art assisted, and industry employed. Her Botanic Garden, with its 12,000 species of shrubs and trees, her Observatory, her School of Design, her Andersonian Institution—founded by one of its University professors, to give the commercial classes the rudiments of physical science—and her multifarious manufactures, give the fullest evidence of the vitality, energy and shrewdness of its people. At this Andersonian Institution Dr. Birkbeck introduced, free of expense, a course of instruction, combined with philosophical and chemical experiments, to as many as five hundred operatives. Glasgow has numerous charitable institutions, all on a magnificent scale,—infirmaries, hospitals, asylums, and houses of refuge, to mitigate human woe and suffering. Many are largely endowed, by the benevolence of a by-gone genera-

tion. By this conduct, a lustre has been shed on many of its departed citizens.

I need not particularize the different objects which took my attention in this noble city. I would rather try to generalize and sift from this diversity of the employment of intellect, certain principles and natural causes which have secured such prosperity and beneficial effects on human character. The thriving condition of the School of Design presents unexceptionable evidence of a strong desire abroad in the humblest rank to gather knowledge. There are young men of all classes who accept tuition at this school of art. Its charges are very low, some two or three shillings per month, to induce all who please to employ their spare hours in drawing. From seven to nine in the evening are hours which seem to be most free from business, and are thus devoted to this work of culture. Forty or fifty students were at work when I visited the school—students from the humblest shilling-a-week shop-boy, to the practical mechanic of thirty or forty shillings per week. Within these extremes were to be seen the apprentice of the engraver, of the lithographer, and the engineer; in fact, any to whom the acquirement of drawing was likely to be useful were there. The number of Printfield works is also a source that gives a great deal of employment to this artistic skill. I could not help feeling the value of this school of design all the more, from seeing that it gave employment to those who would scarcely be fitted

for any other. "This little boy," said the superintendent, "is deaf and dumb. He likes drawing, and will become a proficient. It is a good deal better than idleness." Round the room I observed beautifully designed patterns of handkerchiefs and printed cottons, plans of factories and engine work, and drawings, which had been executed by the senior scholars. These specimens had been noticed as creditable designs by the Society of Arts in London, and their producers had obtained premiums for the excellence of their work.

Glasgow also possesses a school for training teachers of National schools, British schools, and endowed schools. The Scotch character suits the purpose admirably. It moulds into all the requisites of school teaching. These teachers are in great demand throughout England, from the sound knowledge and regular habits they possess. The Scotchman we all know is a very pertinacious sort of fellow. He will stick to his points without losing his temper. His very obstinacy, carefully directed by prudence, has given him much of this pre-eminence. At the first interview it is not at all unusual for an Englishman to feel that the Scotch are slower in perception than his countrymen; but, from what I know of them, I should say that they are as acute as our own people. Some consider the want of this perception which opens the Englishman's mouth, is that which shuts that of the Scotchman. The one talks, the other listens.

The one imparts his ready change, which the other carefully pockets, and hoards against the very next emergency when such knowledge may be useful. However, be that as it may, the Scotch are a remarkable people. If not as clever in speech as the Irish, Glasgow shows them as clever in planning, designing, and carrying out their schemes, as any people on the face of the globe. Glasgow has been at the expense to secure one of the most beautiful and picturesque cemeteries in Europe. Glasgow has ample gas-works, water-works, and sewerage. Its water-works draw water from Loch Katrine, some 30 miles distant from Glasgow, and give for each of its 450,000 inhabitants sixty gallons daily. It is an increasing port. All the more marvellous, because originally the river Clyde was full of obstructions,—encumbered with fords and shallows. For about a hundred years has this river been dredged and dredged and tortured, till vessels drawing eighteen and nineteen feet have safely made their way to Glasgow itself. The work of deepening and straightening still goes on. Three millions have been spent on these improvements of its Port and Harbour, Docks and Quays. Costly as they have been, Glasgow has owed its very existence to this increase of expenditure. The steam-packets of the Clyde bring Glasgow into constant communication with New York, London, Liverpool, Dublin, Belfast, and many other ports. These vessels are amongst the finest of their class in the Empire.

They are built by several shipbuilding firms, on the margin of the Clyde. Many vessels are built under the cover of a glass roof, so that when completed they may be the very highest in rank at Lloyd's. The timber unexposed to damp is supposed to be less likely to decay, and the Scotchman therefore builds under cover, that he may make his extra profit from his extra care. Glasgow has yet another advantage, made by its capital and energy, which must not be overlooked, by which it trades no little with the Baltic. It not only commands the Atlantic by its own Clyde, but is able by its Forth and Clyde Canal to send very cheaply all the heavy articles it produces to the German Seas.

Then the exchange of Glasgow, like that of Liverpool, is a royal building. It is the gathering place of its merchants, and whilst beautiful in its outward adornment is commodious and elegant within. The energy of the Scotch is here again as perceptible as that of the English. You want the latest news. There on its columns is penned the abbreviated intelligence of the London newspaper. Ten hours at least must elapse before the paper reaches Glasgow by the quickest railway transit; but the telegraph brings it at once, along with the prices of stock and cotton. The merchant leaves his breakfast table, to be at home with the day before proceedings of his Leeds, London, and Liverpool brother merchants, besides having daily newspapers to tell him what is doing in his

city. He does nothing in ignorance, but is on a perfect equality with those whose situation might seem to be more favourable. Scottish skill, capital, and energy have done this. Inventions are made, and discoveries applied, that show he does not intend to be second in the race. If there is a profit to be obtained of a little extra size, the Scotchman will be in for it. Goods the most difficult to find the value of, are the articles he likes to make and deal in, as he can the better procure the price he asks. Any business paying more than extra profit will be soon carried from the south to the north. When in Scotland, on one occasion, I myself was interrogated by a shrewd Paisley man, as to a certain branch of manufactures going on in the south, of which I had some acquaintance. All his questions went to ascertaining the risks and probable chance of failure. In a few months I saw scattered over the newspapers advertisements of the article, the manufacture of which, for the first time, had been introduced on a large scale in Glasgow. The north man will run his competition and his luck—which by the way means only his industrious obstinacy and cheap living—by the side of the man of the south, and if the trade remain profitable enough, he will be sure to keep it. This is now to be seen in the manufacture of Starch, in which the Scotch seem likely to stand first. Muslins, shawls, handkerchiefs, and tweeds, have all gone from England to Scotland, so have also some of the finer parts of the Cast Iron Trade.

Cotton handkerchiefs look very trifling things when exhibited in the pockets or on the necks of her Majesty's subjects. One single firm I am acquainted with produces something like £300,000 yearly, which is more than all Manchester makes of this article. You wonder where so many cotton handkerchiefs go. To Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. Probably every country is a market for which some particular style is specially produced, from the most tawdry yellow and red to the cooler shades of blue and white. For shawls we always thought Norwich to be the great emporium. Take, however, a ten minutes railway ride, and you will find Paisley makes, while Glasgow sells them almost as quickly as produced, to an extent vastly beyond what Norwich is producing, or ever likely to produce.

But of what are all these things the evidence? Great industry, great care, great perseverance, great thought. Qualities in no degree great of themselves; indeed second-rate people may have them, and but for one or two things the Englishman might be considered as a being of a higher class, with his London, Liverpool, and Manchester, of which to boast.

I confess, however, when my eye wandered over the spacious library of the Hunterian Museum, and fell on an old dusky worn out model, partly destroyed by repeated use, the superiority of an Englishman was much diminished, and I saw again man return to his own common level of universal

brotherhood. There stood before me the very steam-engine to which the inventive genius of Watt first applied the air pump and condenser. Could this old thing of brass and iron, clumsy and shapeless, be the precursor of our beautiful automatic engines? Could this old egg-shaped boiler, made of copper, be the predecessor of our iron tubulars? I only saw in this model a further evidence of the boundless progress of man. One generation working up the inventions of another, to be replaced by others in their turn. Over and over again the obdurate activities of man, like the surges beating on the sea shore, have been thus employed in improvements which have benefited the species morally, physically, and religiously, as the world has been ready to receive the benefits. That man who had been permitted to do so much for the world by his invention, was represented now to the minds of the living only by the dull, cold marble,—a beautiful statue, to remind the world of fame, of intellect, of knowledge, of power,—but it felt them not. The lesson I read taught me that, when the world was ready for the invention, God Almighty was ready with the man. Had the invention of Watt, and Bell's application of it to the little "Comet" steam vessel, come into use much earlier, civilization might have been in jeopardy, if we tiny beings may say so, for America would not have had her independence secured. The steamer now engaged in carrying armed bands to the Baltic

and Black Sea, would *then* have sealed the destruction of America. Instead of the steam-engine assisting the young giantess to go a-head with her commerce; instead of placing her a mighty new-born nation among the first-rate powers of the world, she must have fallen into dependence upon England. The self-same engine is now lifting up its mighty strength to battle against the tyranny of despotism. It has conquered, as we hope, for freedom, and not for tyranny; for the deliverance of man from the curse of excessive iron-handed labour, to that of the holier, truer labour of the mind and heart.

Group together the inventions of the last forty or fifty years,—see the voyage to America made in as many weeks as it formerly took months, and you see everything working together for the welfare of man, in proportion as he is true to himself, true in his sympathies, true in his faith.

Though the sea of time is now discoloured with blood; though the flood rages with tempestuous power, and the storm drives beyond the distant horizon the ark of peace; though the sky lours with clouds of dark and heavy griefs to afflict many homes; still the dove, with its peace-bearing trophy, must come, will come, yea, is now ready to be the harbinger of a higher civilization which shall bear a message of love to the nations of the world,

and tell of peace and good will to man, "for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." I could almost bring myself to think that I saw—

"The fingers of a man—  
A solitary hand—"

prophetically writing on the wall, "As man learns to govern himself wisely, so will he be governed happily."

I have said the Scotch know the value of knowledge, and it may be added that, perhaps, of all people on the globe, none have a higher value for the religious element, nor have incorporated in their characters more of its moral teachings of honesty and integrity. I take this to be greatly shown in the confidence which they have always placed in each other. Their joint-stock schemes—shipping goods and receiving tobacco from Virginia—of the last century answered. In their schemes six or eight persons used to join, who left the direction to one to manage. This I merely instance as one among many illustrations which might be found showing the confidence they have always had as a people in each other. After the interruption of this American trade of tobacco, no people could have displayed more energy and more practical sense than the citizens of Glasgow. They did not give in but begun to introduce one manufacture after another with a success unparalled. Muslins and tapes became very early leading branches of manufacture. To make this tape, or inkle, one of its merchants,

at the risk of his life, brought away from Haerlem two looms and a workman, and so introduced the trade, for the first time, into Britain. Power loom manufactures soon followed and largely increased the wealth of those engaged in their manufactures.

Like other large commercial cities, Glasgow is well supplied with banks. There are not less than some fourteen or fifteen. The banking transactions of a city, whose very iron-ore and coal trade is some five or six millions a year, must be large. Until the panic of 1857, the Scotch system of banking was considered perfect. A writer in *Blackwood*, in the year 1844, devoted several pages to elucidate its excellencies. The facilities given to trade and commerce by the cash credit system have been great. The plan of banks making advances to their customers had for many years been profitable to the banks and profitable to the people. Any respectable person, who could furnish two responsible guarantees that the bank should be held free from loss, might readily obtain a cash credit, by which he could conveniently and cheaply be paying in and out the moneys of trade.

In England, a few years since, we thought proper—as a wealthy nation who could afford it—to have no notes of issue under five pounds. Scotland however, was allowed to retain her one pound notes, and, for all we can see, the people have as much confidence in this kind of currency as in gold. Nor have her one pound notes deteriorated

in value, as the light sovereigns of English currency. Whilst many of us have been losing threepence or fourpence by our sovereigns, the Scotch have had no such loss to encounter. To the banks themselves to be able to distribute paper in the place of gold, is a source of profit, and to the loss of nobody. These banks having offered at all times many facilities to depositors, have been very useful saving banks for the artizan and the labourer. Yet a system in every way so efficient as this had been for a century or more, was brought, in the year 1857, into great discredit. The panic of that year unfolded to the view of the public the secret history of an unpardonable amount of recklessness and bad management.

McCulloch says that the management of the Glasgow Bank and the Western Bank was so culpable as to deserve most serious blame. The directors and managers ought to have been prosecuted and received punishment for their negligence. These two banks had their head quarters in Glasgow. They had large capitals, and plenty of customers; but, wanting prudence and mere ordinary skill, they failed. The Western Bank, established in the year 1832, "advanced immense sums of money to a few firms never entitled to any considerable credit." The prevalence of this conduct crippled the banks, and in a time of panic became the cause of widespread ruin. A sum of three millions was lost. No such gigantic failure had ever occurred in Scotland. And all this brought on by a

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recklessness, folly, and inattention, wonderful to believe to be possible in this shrewd city of Glasgow merchants and traders. Nevertheless such was the case ; but, from all we see, there is no such danger of a repetition of these disasters for a generation or two. It is only to Liverpool that lessons of prudence by calamity seem to be lost. For Liverpool not to have bank failures in the time of panic, would be as remarkable as for a predicted eclipse not to take place. Strange that we will not learn prudence. Of the Scotch system the Scotch can say, in spite of the blame attached to them, that "under their free system of banking not a single note holder has ever lost a shilling by the failure of any bank." The utmost disrepute the system ever suffered, was by the notes of the suspended Western Bank in 1857 being for one day only refused by other banks. A system like this wants little or no revision or amendment.

I have now a word or two to say on that important topic—the religious aspect of Glasgow. The Church of Scotland has a thousand or twelve hundred ministers for her Establishment, and perhaps there are as many more ministers for all other denominations of Christianity. Glasgow has her due proportion of this number. The government of the churches themselves are mostly after one style—partly clerical, partly lay—that is, partly governed by its ministers, and partly by its lay elders. The lay element is always present, whether

the meetings be the Kirk Session, Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly. "Every parish has several of these lay elders," who have been set apart to their office by the solemn prayer of the minister, in the presence of the congregation. By this union of half lay and half clerical elements, there is opportunity for freedom in their church government, very valuable for independence of thought. It is however said, that even this government does not spare the people altogether from priestly intolerance, though it has delivered them from all pompous show and ceremony in their ritual. Their established religion requires no prayer-book to teach the way to pray acceptably to God. It requires, however, greater reverence for the Sabbath than in England. It gives Sunday school instruction for children its constant support. And I am not sure if the decencies of the Sabbath observance have not contributed very greatly to the thrifty habits of the people. Many expenses have been avoided, and bad habits prevented, by their mode of spending the leisure of the day. On the whole I think it may be said that the influence of this religious culture is greater than our own. The ministers are generally trained in a higher intellectual school of thought. Their faith was pretty well shown a few years since, when so many of them seceded, to establish a free church in Scotland. The character of the sermons produced and delivered by these ministers, are on the average better than the

sermons of the clergy of the English establishment. In no church of Edinburgh or Glasgow would you find the same complaint preferred, as a writer in the *Athenæum*, or *Times* made, who, after the fall of Sebastopol, attended morning worship, in the metropolis, and heard a sermon on that event. He heard the same sermon preached again by another clergyman in the afternoon, and I believe he was present when the selfsame sermon was preached again in the evening, besides having bought the sermon, from seeing it advertised in the columns of the *Times*, for two shillings and sixpence. I do not think Scotland would tolerate this low toned and debased religious conduct in any of its Presbyterian clergy. The majority of its ministers may not be Cambridge wranglers, but are nevertheless men well read and well disciplined in the scriptures. They are men who direct their attention thoroughly to the moral well-being of the people. Indeed they are not unlike the more respectable and educated of the dissenting ministers of this country, gathered into one united and concordant church. Altogether, for an "Established Church," it has a high character. And this high character may be also said to belong to the principal branches of Scotch sectarianism. The dissenting standard is quite as high as the church itself, and the training of the dissenting ministry is in every way equal to that of the more favoured establishment, in fact identical. But whilst I am

praising a religion that has assisted to make its people intelligent, honest, and upright, I must not forget that one of our most philosophical writers says that—"In no civilized country is toleration so little understood, and in none is the spirit of bigotry and of persecution so extensively diffused." "In no other Protestant nation, and, indeed, in no Catholic nation, except Spain, will a man who is known for his unorthodox opinions find his life equally uncomfortable." As a memorable instance "of that dire superstition which sits like an incubus upon them," he narrates what in the name of religion the people and clergy of Scotland would have done to have averted the ravages of the cholera in 1853. "They insisted," he says, "on the propriety of ordering a national fast, which in so superstitious a country was sure to be rigidly kept; and, being rigidly kept, was equally sure to enfeeble thousands of delicate persons, and before twenty-four hours were passed, prepare them for that deadly poison which was lurking around them." Lord Palmerston, as Home Secretary, "a man, perhaps, better acquainted with public opinion than any politician of his time," in his reply to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, informed them that the affairs of the world were regulated by natural laws. One of those laws connects disease with exhalations of bodies. Man can, by exerting himself, neutralize, or disperse these noxious influences. The appearance of the cholera proves that man has not so exerted

himself. If he were to exert himself all would go well. Otherwise pestilence would be sure to revisit them, in "spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united, but inactive nation."

I ought to add that this memorable instance of the Scotch assembly proposing a fast, cited so strongly by Mr. Buckle as a proof of superstition, has had not so long ago its counterpart in England. It is not so many years since that a fast, on account of the cholera, was ordered under the sanction of Government, which will be remembered by many who were then children, for the personal inconvenience they sustained. The induction as to the effects of the fast on Lord Palmerston himself was possibly remembered, when he negatived the application from Scotland.

Well, this disposition of the clergy and their churches may be true, or it may not, still I must maintain that the people of Glasgow have made that progress so as to have achieved the highest place in the scale of civilization. I cannot but suspect that Mr. Buckle has overlooked the influence of one great fact of three. He names science and theology only, and forgets commerce. He says of science,—“It is the result of inquiry; theology, of faith. In the one, the spirit of doubt; in the other, the spirit of belief. In science, originality is the parent of discovery, and is, therefore, a merit; in theology, it is the parent of heresy, and is, therefore, a crime.” Mr. Buckle shows at length and with great acuteness, that the

science of the Scotch is deductive, and that, being deductive and not inductive, it has been, on ordinary understandings, inoperative. "In Scotland, as in ancient Greece and modern Germany, the intellectual classes being essentially deductive, have been unable to influence the main body of the people." . . . "In Scotland superstition and science, the most irreconcilable of all enemies, flourished side by side, unable to weaken each other, and unable to come into collision with each other. The result was, the Scotch people refusing to listen to those great masters of wisdom which their country possessed, remained in darkness."

Mr. Buckle has said nothing of the intellectual training that the people at large have obtained for a century or more by the cultivation of commerce. However deductive may be the science of the schools of Scotland, the teaching of the cotton mill and weaving shed, and the thousand different channels in which industry works in Glasgow, is inductive. The fact is patent, that the science of all commerce is a science of induction, and in no way different to the science of England. When I say that this culture, derived from commerce and manufactures, is inductive, I only say that in all particulars it is based on facts and statistics, inventions and discoveries, which the masses of the people have been using and reasoning from, and continue to use and reason from, with all diligence. I must therefore hold that the people of Glasgow have had a culture as largely based on an inductive scientific

method as England has had, in addition to which Glasgow has had the advantage of a deductive philosophy, taught by her University, which the English have not had. The very daily talk of men like Simpson, Adam Smith, Cullen, Black, and Watt, who lived for years in Glasgow, must have been, in the every day channels of life, helps forward to the intellects of the people of Glasgow. Minds like these must have had a powerful influence on all with whom they came into contact. From this I think we may infer that the progress of Glasgow has neither been retarded nor assisted by any mere recondite theological element. Perhaps it may be with the superstition of the Scotch, as was observed by Jeremy Taylor of sectarianism generally, that "there is no sect but are furnished with antidotes and little excuses to cure the venom of their doctrine. He that says 'God has decreed men to heaven or hell,' takes away all need of care for the way. Yet, those who talk thus wildly live soberly. . . . He that believes confession—as do the Romanists—seldom trusts it. Many of them live so strictly as if they did not believe so foolishly." The teaching of its ministry to its people has never overlooked the importance of cultivating good morals and good habits; and I think we may further infer that, of all the powerful elements to break down this bigotry and superstition, none is so powerful as commerce, which quarrels not with deductive or inductive training, but is the link that

unites in tolerable harmony the bigotry of one class and the scepticism of the other.

Along with the religious element is to be associated the effects of the voluntary principle in collecting a portion of its aid for the poor. The poor of Scotland have not by any means so large a relief given as in England by the relieving officer. In my native town of Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, it is about nine shillings a head; in Glasgow, about one shilling and sixpence, or two shillings; and those who have been attended to have been very effectively relieved. It will be remembered that Chalmers gave an energy to the work of looking after the poor, which has entitled him to be considered a true philanthropist, and his example is still the moving spirit in this good and holy work of attending to the temporal and spiritual interests of the poor.

I fear, in the majority of English churches, the two large pans placed to catch the voluntary offering of the Scotchman would be as empty as unusual. This is not the case with the Scotch collections. In the churches of Dr. Wardlaw and of Dr. Roxburg I have seen collections which surprised me greatly at their magnitude. This habitual encouragement of charitable feelings has, no doubt, had a salutary influence on the minds of the people; nor do I think there follows in the distribution of the poor fund, that low state of feeling which is so characteristic of our poor. The right of being provided with a maintenance is with most of the English a settled principle. "Why have

you stopped my pay?" comes continually from the English pauper, with as much sense of an injustice having been done him in withholding it, as would be felt by the person who having bought an annuity had it discontinued. This kind of feeling has sapped away a great deal of that clear perception of what is true independence. The principle of saving is extinguished. Wages become sensibly affected by the certainty that poor rates will be the source from whence accidents and sickness, births and burials, are provided for. The stout hearty English labourer, put in competition with this half-employed and half pauper-maintained labour is beggared, and lowered in character to the same level. Hence, then, to give employment to the poor, that shall be healthy and invigorating to the body and mind, and at the same time so remunerative as to secure independence, is of the first importance to the social existence of a country; yet I consider Boards of Guardians are most negligent in this matter. It is no matter how liberal you may be in supplying money to the orphans, if you do not take them from those influences at work which destroy good habits and good principles. For this reason I think the plan adopted by the people of Paisley a right and proper plan. In that town, in the year 1833, they began by placing orphans into respectable, well-conducted families, to be educated and brought up. They were wise enough to know that to neglect the children of the poor is quite as costly to society,

as to neglect the nail in the shoe of the horse. "For want of a shoe the horse was lost," is precisely the kind of retributive justice paid for, when the poor neglected child is received into the union-house, a degraded, houseless vagrant, to be maintained at public expense.

Now what I feel is this, let the labourer be educated from his youth in the decencies of life, and trained to employment, and he will become a better and more useful member of society. We have tables of statistics which might be available to tell us whether this or that labour is likely to be required, and it is for those placed in authority to watch, and put it into the right track for being taught, and to have it ready against the time it can be employed.

I do not believe that all those who receive poor relief, even when able-bodied, are idle and will not work; but I do believe that there are many consigned to one kind of labour,—the agricultural—which is by no means the one fitted by nature for them. Their outward frame of bone and sinew is for supplying other wants and necessities in the social scheme. Scotland does not seem to have overlooked this, and the many employments of Glasgow seem to show why its poor rates are so small.

I will not say Glasgow owes her increase of prosperity to the want of merciful attention to the poor—her hospitals show the contrary,—but I repeat that the effects of her moral training by her ministry,

which has not been riven into such small sectional parties as in England, and her use of the lay element in her religion—of the superiority of her schools in training the mind, along with the lessons of plodding industry and careful habits received at home—in spite of the toddy-drinking,\*—have given an impetus that has placed her first in the van of cities. Unlike our manufacturing towns, she is not the individual offspring of the growth of any particular branch of manufacture or commerce; but branches of manufacture, to which we have previously referred, have been brought into profitable existence against the competition of English markets, which have greater facilities. All seem here to contribute to her prosperity. Political economists may theorize as they like on the causes of this or that branch being particularly adapted to a particular locality here in England, but their theories will have to undergo much modification when they are placed by the side of the fact that Glasgow can prosper under so many different descriptions of manufacture. Our London is a similar exception, indeed in some respects an exception more remarkable. Branches of manufacture, of various kinds, have, in spite of dear coal, flourished there. Coal is even found among the articles it exports.

\* James Gray, Esq., a member of the town council, Edinburgh, stated in 1849 there were 34 parishes in Scotland where there were as yet no public houses, and not a penny needed for poor rates. In some parishes about twenty years ago there were no public houses. The poor rates since their introduction have increased from 10d to 2s 6d.

The Scotch solve this economical difficulty themselves by the following kind of remarks:—Commerce and manufactures, in their various subdivisions, are not always similarly doing well. When one branch is slack, the hands go to another, instead of the poor-house. They may have a preference for the branch which they leave, but this is not so insuperable an obstacle as to prevent them going to the next best. Now, in England, my observation has been that the very causes of an Englishman's poverty, in the agricultural districts, are often owing to his unwillingness to try and find employment in any other branch than the one which has given him employment from the time he first began to work. He feels his incompetency, and so makes no effort to be handy; and the worst of it is, the children of this pauper often remain paupers. They have had no instruction and example given them, by which to manage the common affairs of life, and they grow up deficient in vigour and application. The want of energy in seeking employment is, likewise, a barrier to the success of an Englishman. Many a job lies ready for his hand if he only sought for it. Whether he thinks employment is better paid for when sought for by the master, or whether it is the excess of labour that makes the number of applications too troublesome to the labourer, I do not know. I only point out the difficulty to the poor man to be one which requires consideration. The present cheap press will

enable the labourer to advertise his labour in its columns, as well as any other kinds of employments which we see so largely advertised, and it is to be hoped it will be a benefit to him.

I do not know, therefore, of anything more essential to our purpose at this time, than fitting up the labourer's mind with a greater assortment of ideas, mechanical, artistical, economical, and moral. Action will then be the more likely to follow. Glasgow is a great fact to teach us this important lesson. The Scotch labourer, by this better discipline, and by his calculating mind, traces cause and effect, where an Englishman would be the last to discover them. My first notice of being in Scotland this time was, the hearing at a station a Scotch porter ask the Englishman, who wanted his number and name, what he wanted them for before he gave it. An English porter would have told it at once. Give the English the "tip," as his vulgar tongue terms it, and you command all that is in him; his feelings go forward, and he knows nothing of saving himself and his energies "jist for the next time," as do the Scotch.

Before closing this commercial lecture, I will name another characteristic which appeared to me anomalous when I first became acquainted with the habits of the Scotch merchant. Money-making, you would expect, being so much an object, would be engrossing to the highest possible degree. You would expect the merchant of Glasgow or Dundee

would be earlier at business than his English brother. You would expect the Campbells of Glasgow would be as early at business as the Rylands of Manchester—merchants on a very large scale,—but no, the Scotch go to business at 9-30, or 10-0, whilst Manchester goes at 8 or 8-30 and terminate together about the same hour the duties of the day.

So also with their recreations. I find the merchant of Scotland more disposed for pleasant visits out in his neighbourhood. The Friday or Saturday would often be a startling loss of time to the Englishman to employ in pleasure; to the Scotch power of doing things economically, it becomes no waste at all, but only the means for securing a healthy and vigorous tone to the mental and bodily powers. A fair inference I think, may be deduced from this—that masters who can leave their business to servants for so long a time without injury, must have servants of steady-going moral and intelligent minds. It is indisputable that the Scotch are very greatly such a class. The inference is, therefore, supported by fact.

In concluding this address, I shall only add my best wishes for your prosperity. May each of you young men—apprentices and servants—run in fair and open rivalry with your young Scotch brethren. May it be said of each of you by every employer—“He is the right man for us; he deserves our confidence, by his integrity and faithfulness, and we value his energy and discretion.”

## APPENDIX.

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SOME of my readers may feel a little interest in the following extracts from a lecture on the resources of Wisbeach, delivered in the year 1855, which I now add by way of an appendix. I merely reproduce the lecture in this humble form, because I do not attach much value to it, beyond the purpose for which it was delivered—that of directing the attention of a few youths living in Wisbeach to their “surroundings.” It was delivered as a second lecture, following that upon the Progress of Glasgow. There is also another reason for its reprint. In its pages there may possibly be found some few suggestions that might be acted upon advantageously by many quiet, unenterprising places. Residing for nearly forty years in the small town of Wisbeach, and having been for several years intimately associated with its public affairs, I may perhaps have more regard for the place than it deserves. Though I am now a resident of Liverpool, and have been for more than ten years, I still feel, from the additional knowledge and experience I have acquired, that very many of the suggestions regarding Wisbeach, which I make in this lecture, are practicable, and some day may become sources of wealth to a larger population than that which Wisbeach now possesses. Wisbeach is the centre of a very productive region, which produces abundance of wheat, oats, beans, colseed, mustard, potatoes, apples, butter, wool, eggs. It is also situated on a fine layer of clay, which, for manufacturing purposes, is next to coal and iron.

In some of the foot notes to the lecture I have added a word or two on the progress that Wisbeach has made in the last fifteen years. The difficulties it has had to surmount have been enormous. Still at this moment the town is in a better position than ever. It has a railway to Peterbro', which puts the port in direct communication with the manufacturing towns of the Midland Counties. It has secured water-works and improved its gas-works; deepened its river; made a public park; and now only wants a dock to make its shipping secure whilst discharging their cargoes.

The difficulty of finding back freight for its shipping has almost disappeared. Salt, coal, and indeed iron, can be provided at reasonable rates. All that is wanted, besides this security for shipping

is, that the conservators of its river—the Nene, shall look sharply after its condition. There are too many unnecessary accidents. Clever pilots and secure berths are almost all that are wanted to reduce these accidental mischiefs, which have overtaken the shipping, into a much smaller number. There is a quantity of land suitable for storage ground for any traffic close to the goods terminus of the Midland Railway, with a frontage to the river, which can be had for almost a nominal rental. Shippers from foreign ports willing to use Wisbeach as a port of deposit, can use it at little or no cost to themselves, or risk to their shipping. With these facilities of discharge and loading, Wisbeach may be looked upon as a port offering the most remuneration to shipowners of almost any port on the Eastern coast. The timber merchants generally give seven or ten shillings a standard more for freight than Hull or Grimsby. Those who frequent the port are not amongst those who give it the best name. Perhaps reasonably so. It is only human. If the truth were told, and the actual facts shown, the shipowners know that the rates — now in excess of other ports—would bring a competition, by which freights would be lowered and trade become less remunerative. However, it is very satisfactory to find, in the short time that these facilities have been afforded, that many tons of heavy goods have gone into parts of the country never once thought possible. There never was a better opportunity for Wisbeach to rise into a flourishing port than at this time. The ports of Hull, Grimsby, and West Hartlepool, are all so overdone with traffic, that the delay in getting goods to their destination is most ruinous. Many pounds have been sacrificed in late years in paying demurrage for shipping, which need not have taken place with more convenience at the disposal of the merchants importing.

However, I scarcely suppose Wisbeach can avail itself of any such opportunity. I read its newspapers, and notice that some of the men it sends to the Council Chamber find greater delight in frivolously spending their time in personal altercations, attacking their best and most energetic citizens, than in looking after the commerce of the place, and trying to give the trade of their town the facilities it needs. The petty jealousies that exist, go far to neutralize any scheme to improve the town by docks, which might be put forward by the capitalists of London, Liverpool, or Manchester, for the benefit of Wisbeach and its neighbourhood.

## LECTURE: THE RESOURCES OF WISBEACH.

It is now my intention to put this, our little town of Wisbeach, by the side of the great and important city of Glasgow. The comparison, I fear, may seem a little ridiculous, but my object in making this comparison in this commercial lecture is, to invite you to think on those laws which govern progress and prosperity. If I have stated any principle erroneously, discussion and thought will enable me to be put right.

I feel considerable difficulty in speaking of Wisbeach. A native cannot give the same kind of judgment, nor assess the advantages and disadvantages of a place so well as a stranger. Newspapers tell me of flattering encomiums passed on this or that person who has assisted to develop a new trade in a town; we read of the manager of a bank receiving his piece of plate for his services, which have secured a ten or twelve per cent. extra profit to the proprietary;—of a Morton Peto, who, by accident and energy makes a thriving port of the small fishing village of Lowestoft;—of a Marquis of Bute subscribing his three hundred and fifty thousand pounds to give to the town and port of Cardiff docks—docks which have facilitated the increase a hundredfold of its coal and iron trade; but, as for our little town, we have only very humble endeavours of which to speak. So small indeed, are these efforts, that with difficulty we are able to keep off those shrivelling influences which will ultimately reduce us to a village if they continue unchecked.

The young men of Wisbeach are as well educated and as well fitted up with business notions as those of any similar town. Their conduct, tact, and talent, make them good and commendable servants, capable to direct mills or to transact mercantile business of any description; and, for what I know to the contrary, they are as well worthy of confidence as those of Glasgow. But they do not settle here. I have had to do with training thirty or forty, scarcely any of whom are here settled. By many other merchants and traders the same observation might be made. They educate and train those who do not remain where they have been trained. Emigration always has its cause. In this case, I presume, the cause of dispersion arises from either deficient capital, deficient

energy, or deficient situation. Wisbeach, therefore, sends them abroad to the more thickly inhabited districts of England to find a settlement. I deeply regret it; for, by their agency, it seems to me, our social progress might be accelerated, and many of our poor saved from poverty, misery, and vice, especially the youth of the female sex, who now, at this time, are hopelessly destitute of employment adequate to maintaining themselves as the intelligent creatures of God ought to be maintained.

Is then Wisbeach unable to develope greater traffic, manufacture larger, and find more employment for her surplus labour? Must one person in nine unemployed, and maintained by the parish, for ever remain unemployed, while Glasgow has only to maintain one in forty? Must the children of the pauper for ever remain untrained to any other kind of employment than the idleness and dissipation of pauperism? Is it because Wisbeach has no coal fields that she cannot make her Baltic trade in timber, hemp, and flax, equal to that of Hull; or that she cannot make steam engines as at Boston; agricultural implements on a scale equal to Peterborough; or paper, brushes, corks, and oil cake like Lynn; or mustard, starch, shoes, and shawls like Norwich; or ropes, twine, and sail cloth like Bridport; or convert sheepskins into parchment, as at St. Neots?

These, and a multitude of other departments of manufacture in the busy world of commerce, want a little looking into, and it is the purpose of my present lecture humbly to invite your attention to the following remarks, with the hope that we may discover those branches that legitimately belong to us and our children to cultivate, that we may not have a failing trade and an impoverished people around us, to leave as our best legacy to posterity.

Wisbeach is, in many respects, eligibly situated for some kinds of manufacturing employment. Yet she is without such occupation, or has so little, as to be next to nothing. This, where there are so many unemployed, I consider a radical defect. The attention of the capitalist, the charge bearer, and the merchant, is urgently required to be directed to this fact. Obstacles are pleaded that this is no home for any labour but agricultural. It is forgotten that the manufactures of Leicester and Nottingham are very greatly those of hand labour, and depend but little on the cheapness or dearness of coal. Coal has had little to do in making stockings, gloves, braces, or worsted shirts. Coal has had little to do with the fancy ribbon trade of Coventry. There are other large towns flourishing by manufactures wholly independent of coal fields. In the category of Leicester, Nottingham, and Coventry, may be named Luton, Dunstable, and Norwich. I may also refer to such towns as Dundee and Yarmouth, where the coal bears a heavy freight, and yet these towns are first in the race of competition. All these towns have employment for labour skilled in particular branches of

production, while Wisbeach, no more disadvantageously situated, has no such resources to offer her poor.

Farm occupation gives bare subsistence during one half the year to some kinds of labour, and the miserable pittance of parish relief supports the other half.

I have said Glasgow has succeeded by her labour being so educated, that it can change from one kind of employment when flat, to that of another more fully engaged. The same may be said of Yorkshire in general. The small farmers in that county are often small woollen manufacturers, and sell their productions in markets, as the agriculturalists do their corn. A good deal of the wool of this neighbourhood is consumed by them in worsted and blanket making.

In Northamptonshire, too, the agricultural labourer of to-day is the maker of lace to-morrow. It is, therefore, manifest, that those localities having no employment but out-door work, will have to give larger relief from the poor fund to the labourer, than those which furnish out-door and in-door employment. Very few are aware of the many days' interruption there is to the employment of labour on farms,—rain, snow, and seasons interpose and prevent work. My factory experience has told me this many times.\* In summer the girls used to leave me, to return in autumn. Some also chose to leave me for service, which, not suiting them, they returned again to their manufacturing employment, instead of going to the parish.

I should, however, name to you, that the obstacles to success in planting any new business, are not so much deficient capital, as the ignorance and want of application on the part of the youth whom you wish to train, and also from the great facility by which an easy but scanty subsistence is drawn from the poor rates. No kind of manufacture can be established without great trouble in training and teaching the art. If, in addition to these difficulties, the capitalist finds habits have been neglected, wilful waste allowed by parents, unpunctuality in attendance permitted, trifling excuses made for absence—however cheap and plentiful the labour of this district may be—these difficulties become nearly insuperable, and are most formidable obstacles to success.

My experience of manufacturing has, unfortunately, been of this difficult character. I can look round at this time, and see a number of boys and girls whom I have tried, one time or another, to teach, train, and employ in the cotton manufacture of this town, but, from the causes named, they have left my employment for precarious and doubtful occupations, because they could not settle to business, being wholly untrained to anything like perseverance. I

\* The factory has now ceased to exist.

would have put down more machinery, indeed I have had estimates two or three times prepared, but the trouble I have had to encounter, and the full occupation of my time in other directions, has made me think it preferable to have smaller profits than risk success and anxiety, and even character itself, in an undertaking where so much energy is required to quarry out from the raw material skilled human labour. Still I feel that, with energy and undivided attention, such training of labour may be made to succeed, and ought to be made to succeed.

As I have been speaking of the resources of the town to furnish labour for many kinds of manufacture and commerce, it may not be amiss to name a great deficiency existing in the industrial education and application of poor-house labour. Some years since the paupers made mats, wove matting, and were taught other manufacturing employments. By order of the Board of Guardians these employments were discontinued, and the machinery was thrown aside. This very labour is now put to the lowest degree of occupation that labour can find—oakum picking. Two or three boys may be taught to put a patch on a shoe, or a button on a coat, and the older girls to wash and mend, but beyond this little or nothing is taught.\* The remuneration for the skilled labour working the looms, as might be expected, was far more profitable, and for the paupers themselves was a higher occupation for their intelligence. To show how capable this branch was of rising into importance at Wisbeach, it may be named that at Lynn a Wisbeach pauper was engaged, from the Wisbeach workhouse, to teach a few hands the working of the manufacture. At this time there are employed as many as thirty or forty operatives in Lynn, whose productions, like our own cotton reels, penetrate even beyond Birmingham.

The same blame is not to be attached to our prison authorities. Frederick Hill, Esq., the late Inspector of Prisons, felt the importance of finding suitable employment as discipline for the inmates of prisons. When he called on me, and the subject of sack making was broached, he little thought that from that time forward very large employment was in store for prisoners. Scotland had previously furnished the labour which Wisbeach is now doing for herself. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that labour might be readily found for numerous branches of manufacture.

The making of oil cake, the grinding of flour, the refining of sugar, the boiling of soap, the manufacture of tobacco, the making of paper, ought all of them to succeed in such a locality as Wisbeach occupies, and other manufactures beside. Corn might be very advantageously ground, and sold in London. Wisbeach is well placed for transmitting large supplies of flour to this vast

\* By a recent order of the Board, the girls are to be taught to knit stockings.

consumer. Three millions of people require something to feed them, and Wisbeach has certain natural facilities for sending thither her manufactures, which only require energy and capital to develope.

Vinegar and pickle making, with the fancy biscuit trade, I am sure ought to be carried on by capital now employed less remuneratively. London has a large foreign and colonial demand for pickles, which might be well prepared in this locality; and why Carlisle and Reading should be so much favoured places for making biscuits I cannot tell, except it be owing to the energy of some indefatigable minds.

Now then, assuming the question of labour settled, that it can be trained—and the poor rates show it can be found—let us, in the next place, look at the position of Wisbeach as a point of trade and commerce.

As a port Wisbeach is well situated. The River Nene, whose sources are two springs, one north and one south of Daventry, takes an easterly course to Northampton, when it becomes navigable. It then winds its way for a hundred miles, which would be no more than sixty, in a direct course, passing Oundle, Wandsford, Peterbro', and the Port of Wisbeach, till it reaches the sea. Generations ago there were many obstructions to the ready discharge of its waters into the basin of the Wash, but long continued efforts of ingenuity and perseverance have made it a very navigable river; and, by its facilities for drainage, it has also rendered the northern parts of a very wretched and unhealthy district, called the Fens, very fertile and healthy. An interesting account of how these great drainage improvements were effected, may be found in the History of Wisbeach, from the pen of Mr. Craddock. There it will be seen how many various corporations have come into existence for assisting the work of draining and improving this important division of the Fens. One of the latest improvements so opened the Nene outfall, as to allow shipping of much larger size than heretofore to trade with the Port of Wisbeach. In the year 1830, the tonnage was about 60,000 tons, whilst in 1847 it had risen to 160,000 tons. Subsequent attempts have been made to improve the river in the direction of Northampton. Large liabilities have been incurred, but, so far as improving the port, the advantages have been very trifling indeed. With such a river, the present limits of trade and commerce should not exist. Wisbeach has so far gone with the times as to have railway facilities, but these might be much more valuable than they are. There is the Syston and Peterboro' Branch of Railway, whose capabilities are yet very imperfectly known, which is capable of doing much for the port; but which has never been attempted by the railway company or the Wisbeach interest. A small outlay of capital laid out in a railway, by the

side of our river, might bring a traffic by way of this Syston and Peterboro' line, of a most profitable character.\* Wisbeach would be the port for the Midland Counties, and be immediately connected with the North and South Staffordshire Railways. Birmingham, Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, Stoke, and Burslem, would all produce goods, which might be shipped thence by steamer to the Continent. Indeed I do not know whether there is really any obstacle now to obtaining cargoes for Baltic vessels, which generally have to leave the port of Wisbeach in ballast.

Hull is no better situated than Wisbeach—mileage considered she is worse off for delivering goods to their destination. Hull has had also the advantage of canals, which railways are destined to supersede. I am not certain of the amount of tonnage from these towns in the Midland Counties, which leaves Hull for Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, the West Indies, the United States, South America, and the Mediterranean, but I have reason to think that the value cannot be less than eight or nine millions. It is estimated that the traffic alone from Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford, by way of Hull, is about five millions.

It seems to me, therefore, that the germs of an export trade for Wisbeach may be found, which it is well known is of greater difficulty to find than an importing one. Hull receives from the foreign countries I have named over 200,000 tons, some of whose productions could be readily dealt with here as well as the large quantity of timber now imported. It seems then, that it requires only to be well known and started, and a very different complexion might be given to the commerce of Wisbeach. The subject wants well discussing; for it is next to impossible that any progress can be made, or obstacles removed, without a union of our strength. The law of limited liability has made any attempt safer, whether the undertaking be in sailing packets or steamers. The goods traffic department would require energetically looking after. Those houses which travel from Wisbeach to Birmingham and the Midland Counties, I have no doubt could assist in securing a trade, and could afford to do this at a cheap rate.

This leads me to the consideration of the difficulty in starting any scheme of a joint-stock nature. There is a somewhat reasonable impression abroad that some joint undertakings, by which the resources of Wisbeach might have been developed, have not done very well. These schemes referred to have ceased to exist for so many years, that I do not think the present generation need in any way suffer their unsucccess to act so prejudicially on their judgments

\* Since this lecture was delivered, a very useful and valuable line of railway has been constructed, which connects the Port of Wisbeach and the Midland Counties.

and actions, as to prevent them embarking in any moderate undertakings by which trade and employment might be extended.

Oil mills and flour mills, worked in copartnership, no longer exist. The Tug-boat Company, eaten up by repairs and expenses, has fallen into the hands of a single capitalist, who now makes the concern pay. The Canal Company still holds on its useful course. Some years since it seemed in a dying state ; it however lowered its dues, revived in spirit, doubled the traffic, and now pays a comfortable dividend.

Other schemes for the benefit of the inhabitants have been promoted by the wealthy and philanthropic of the town ; and though some of them have, perhaps, not been so remunerative as they ought, yet have been of essential service. The Museum, Baths, Cemetery, Public Hall, and Corn Exchange, show, perhaps, more the development of wealth and civilization than the growth of trade and remunerative employment. However, the very promotion of these joint undertakings, shows no little public spirit to exist, which only requires a little energetic direction to be made useful for the future advancement of the town.

Now, because some of these joint-stock schemes have been failures during the last fifty years, it is no reason that during the next fifty years they may not be more successful ; and, as we are discussing the practicability of these schemes to pay, I must again recall your attention to one important element of success, which I have noticed too lightly to be much considered by you, but which is all important, and is perhaps worth explaining more fully,—demand must precede the supply you produce. Now the neglect of this principle is where the shoe may be generally said to nip ; for any person who attempts to manufacture, before he has a market for his goods, is not quite so likely to succeed as he who has a market. The whole secret then is for such a person to begin to manufacture on a scale small enough, that he may try and get quit of his goods as they are made. Hence, any firm selling large quantities of an article—a necessity of life and not of fashion—will be more likely to make the manufacture of that article succeed, if it commences manufacturing, than a person who commences a fresh branch altogether, without any such demand being in existence. That is, a person with a demand is so much better off than a person without it, that he can afford to employ workers of his labour of a better and higher character than he who has not these advantages. There are also other advantages in the hands of those persons who have demands already in existence when they commence manufacturing.

One of these advantages is, that the merchant or trader who is about to manufacture some of the goods he sells, as he already obtains a profit by the purchase and sale of goods, has

one of nature's "bounties" given him with which to try and succeed. I am quite aware that political economists do not like bounties; and I believe that, if the nursing of families were left to them, their theories would lead to the practice of neglecting their children. But I have not heard that they object to nurse their offspring any more than others do. The child would never become a man unless in his earlier years you bestowed a bounty—that is, laid out money with no present prospect of profit, to bring him up from infancy to manhood. The same with an infant manufacture. Give it the advantage of a bounty for a few years, and it may become a thriving trade and a paying one. Many firms might be named as having had business on which they have successfully planted manufacturing departments. The Campbells of Glasgow, the Rylands of Manchester, the Greens of Newcastle, the Ridleys of Bury St. Edmunds, the Crossfields of Liverpool, are all illustrations of a successful development of this principle.

Now, I have a notion, that if the inhabitants of Wisbeach came forward with this bounty principle, and said—we wish Wisbeach to be a first-rate port, and in order to give it every encouragement we will make it as cheap a port as any in the kingdom, or a little cheaper, I have a notion they would have soon such corporate dues as would amply indemnify all the extra charge they took.

Your shipping would increase; porters would be wanted; vessels would be in demand; houses in request; your merchants would find traffic in the midland counties of which they have never dreamed; your traders at home would supply food for the vessels, food for the porters, food for the merchants.

A stimulus would be given to every trade, from the tailor and shoemaker to the engineer and the shipbuilder. Why not then calculate the cost of giving away this little to meet the competition of other ports, and give it away at once. We all know that a very small *dam* will keep up a very large body of water. We know a small sluice-gate will stop a stream of great magnitude and vast velocity. And I cannot but look on the extra tonnage dues you levy, as so many dams to stop prosperity, which, could they be made only dock-gates, would give success to this town of a very different character to that ever expected.

Bristol, with her heavy port dues, suffered in the same proportion that Liverpool prospered by her 2d. tonnage. I do not wish to be considered unreasonable. There are limits on the one side and on the other which I dare not recommend to be passed. I only wish you to feel that the good people of Bristol are held up to public ridicule by one of our highest public authorities, for imposing such an impolitic excess of taxation. Several branches of manufacture were withdrawn in which she had succeeded.

The Secretary of the Liverpool Dock Committee recently pointed out to me the absolute necessity of variable rules and regulations and rates for the variable circumstances, progress, competition and condition of a port. The most productive policy seemed this:—Wherever a pressure exists, try and lighten it for a time. Discretion and research will tell you the probable issue before any great loss is incurred, and then adapt yourselves to the result. Do not disregard these results; failures may arise from trifling causes. Because a thing has not answered once or twice is no argument that it may not ultimately succeed. Circumstances are ever varying, and it is the true business of intelligence and vigilance, prudence and energy, to direct them into the most profitable channel.

This policy of Bristol, later accounts say, has been modified. The Irish trade has rapidly increased since the high charges were lowered. Carriage to and from London has been one of the bounties of nature which has saved some kinds of business to her port. London having to incur this cost to get her manufactures into Bristol, cannot compete, or she would have lost them also. The sugar-refining business has for years prospered there, and though, from limited demand, the raw sugars used for refining, and imported by the Bristol, Liverpool, or Glasgow merchant, may not be bought so well as by the London merchant, still these towns can make the trade profitable to their localities. Among the articles enumerated as exported from Bristol, I see bricks are named. One would have thought these could have left our port as ballast as well as Bristol. At no other port that we know of are such good building bricks supplied so cheaply.

I need scarcely have gone so far as Bristol to show the impolicy of high port dues. Mr. Craddock, in the History of Wisbeach, says of the canal to which I have just alluded—"The traffic was wholly inefficient to pay any interest on the outlay; for sixteen or seventeen years nothing was paid on the shares. At length, in 1837, their estimated produce was not more than £5 per share. This distressing state of affairs was chiefly, as it proved, the proper effect of exorbitant dues. The shareholders felt the time was come when they must make an effort, or die. Adversity teaches men wisdom. They reduced their rates. The scheme succeeded. The shares rose year by year till they now reached par, and the last distribution (about 1848) was after the rate of seven per cent."

The energies of the Corporation are looked for at this time with much interest. To secure right and proper Railway facilities for the mercantile deliveries to and from the shipping, wants no ordinary vigilance from the men who occupy seats at her table. They ought to be men who, whilst looking close after the expenditure, are more capable of comprehending the necessities of the

times, and are willing to spend when spending is likely to be remunerative.

It is quite certain that the large amount of money now unwillingly spent by the Corporation for comparatively trifling improvements of the river, might have been usefully employed had it been spent years ago. The example of Liverpool is before me. No land has been suffered to pass likely to be wanted in dock or river improvements. Land is now held which may be years before it is wanted; but when wanted it is ready. Why Wisbeach should act differently I cannot tell. I cannot help also noticing the difference in the energy of doing business. In Liverpool you have promptitude in everything. Impediments and hindrances to business are constantly and often easily removed. Abuses no sooner occur and are pointed out, than the Chamber of Commerce, or some other institution, takes the matter up, and I think I may say that there is very rarely any unnecessary delay in putting things to rights. In matters referring to the business of Wisbeach all this is reversed. Delay is only the precursor of delay, till those engaged in the commerce of the town get tired out. The promptitude required is of the commercial style of Liverpool, and not the legal style of Wisbeach. Delays in proceedings at law are sometimes useful, but they are of necessity always injurious to commerce. The promptitude and clear business talents of the Dock Secretary of Liverpool explain to me the wisdom of the aphorism—"The right man for the right place." And I am sorry to say that I feel Wisbeach has neglected its commercial opportunities, and therefore has no little difficulty to surmount in placing itself in the position it ought really to occupy in the mercantile world.

There are, I again repeat, many advantages around us which, were the Scotch example followed, I feel might become the means of considerable success to those of you who want to become fixed in life. Frugality, temperance, and indefatigable perseverance, so marked in the Scotch, is wanted in your business. Capital is ready saved for you to work, lying in the funds when it might be on mortgage, and on mortgage when it might have been in trade. Our bankers can and will give credit, if they see success and a profit in what you undertake. There is no doubt, with character, they will make all reasonable advances, as is pursued among the Scotch bankers. Indeed, of all commercial activity, the Scotch system of banking seems to involve the most profit with the least risk. And it seems to me that most of you, by care and prudent economy before marriage, and the kindness of your friends, might secure that position which will give you a successful start in life. No class has a better opportunity, or uses it so improvidently, as the class to which you belong. Small accumulations denote saving habits, and small expenses is the secret of doing

a trade. If you begin with denying yourselves, you may be sure you have no competition in business to beat you.

I would ask any of you, how a single young man, beginning a retail business in a good situation can fail, when he sticks closely to it, buys carefully, lives at the smallest possible cost, gives no trust, keeps his word, and is obliging? Who can put goods cheaper and better into the hands of the consumer? No one. The same thing happens with a merchant, manufacturer, banker, or, in fact, with any trader. Keep your expenditure down, avoid risks, and you cannot fail. The reason why Scotland has succeeded in making a poor, impoverished country full of fruitful vales and large cities is, because it has imparted with its moral, religious, and intellectual training, instruction of this kind to its youth.

Advance yourselves in knowledge and in intellectual power, and I am persuaded you can help to make the future of Wisbeach more bright and promising. At this time her failing trade, her empty houses, her heavy rates, her serious railway inconveniences and obstacles, may mar her prospects; but still I am sure there are facilities around her, which only want moulding into shape, to be the very means of making her a place of vastly improving commerce. These facilities are available to you young men—our bone and sinew. They will help forward your success, and will enable you to give employment to that class now so utterly neglected. You may save them from becoming like the Irish, who have had to emigrate, because capital and intelligence have neglected them. Surely it is the duty of capital to find suitable means, as it is for intelligence to find suitable employment. If these duties are well performed, we shall not need emigration to disperse our population, nor need Government aid to plant fisheries or build boats, as is the case in Ireland, in order to patch up a sickly social existence.

At the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, I had expected from the various specimens of manufactures which left Wisbeach, that we should have made greater progress in some of them than we appear to have done. The exhibitor of some ingeniously contrived wooden legs, has however made some to order. The maker of these wooden legs losing his own leg, supplied it with one made of wood, constructed in detail, with sinews and tendons, as a real leg. The skill he displayed made a very favorable impression of his capability to supply such substitutes. There were, in the same Exhibition, some specimens of cooperage, which showed decided ability.

Specimens of the Wisbeach Sewing Cotton also commanded a good deal of attention. At this time the Wisbeach Cotton is largely in demand in Birmingham and other large towns. In Birmingham alone there are no less than forty respectable drapery and haberdashery concerns where the article is sold. In the

eastern counties the demand alone gives continuous profitable support to many hands employed in the factory.

There were also produced and exhibited at the great Exhibition some first class bricks and fancy chimney tops, most respectable and novel specimens of manufacture in our clays. With greater facilities to deliver these articles free of heavy carriage, it is reasonably thought a trade might be made. Bricks have been made for many years, in large quantities, in the neighbourhood of Wisbeach, of a very superior character at a very small cost. This Wisbeach Clay would be excellent for Garden Pots, Drain Tiles, and coarse Kitchen Ware. The grinding of bones has of late years been also an increasing trade, and one that ought still more largely to increase; and so ought all manufactures of artificial manures. Wisbeach abounds in material enough to make this, of all branches, one of the most profitable.

There is also another branch of manufacture which I never look at without surprise to find it should have uniformly failed. If there has never been the right man in the right place, still I am persuaded Wisbeach is the right place for the right man. That branch is shipbuilding. Oak, which abounds in this county, bordering the Nene above Peterboro', goes from this port in large quantities to Sunderland, Newcastle, and the ship-building ports. Yet these ports can beat us in price and quality of the vessels they build. It may be, and doubtless is, that the large capitals occupied in this business enable the bellows to blow, the saws to revolve, and many other applications of steam power to render the articles cheaper; but I am sure the capabilities of the port ought by this time to have grown larger than they have done. It is not the river that prevents this being accomplished, for Glasgow had only craft drawing seven or eight feet of water till 1831; and improvements made since still give only thirteen or fourteen feet, where a good deal of building goes on.

Four-oared boats were built here in my boyhood, and I do not see, with scarcely an exception, that any advance has been made. A single barge of eighty or ninety tons has been launched, but of little or no more tonnage. I hope that there is a chance yet for ship building in Wisbeach to flourish on a scale commensurate with its facilities. Lynn, so short a distance from us, once had builders of whalers and war ships. Its corporation were unable to keep their river course sufficiently open as they ought to have done. This building of ships may be said to have been muddled away in its importance, and its whale trade is only a matter of history. Wisbeach has no need to undergo any such severe ordeal.

Of course it requires a good deal of discretion to know the kind of business in which it is practicable to engage. Some involve large capital in machinery, others little or none at all.

Some involve large risks of capital in the credit you give to others. Some are done so much for cash as to require little or no credit to be given. Many a servant has risen to be a master, and I do not see anything visionary in your attempting to raise yourselves in the social scale.

The ground is quite free to you. Secure only confidence in those that have had dealings with you, and Providence will open out something for you to do. She will reward you according as you are faithful to your trusts.

You must remember too, you are of the right class to make headway. It is your time coming. We have had ours. Families in Wisbeach can be scarcely found of more than two or three generations continuance.

Go and read the tombstones of those who have done flourishing businesses, but there is no name left to answer them. We all remember the old merchant, Mr. Wardle, who represented when alive a class in being years ago, now swept away and forgotten. Our Pates, Rayners, Girdlestones, Smalleys, Jecks, Dowsons, Cripps, Grounds, Dieppes, are names of men of business, only known as matters of history in the trade of this port. Be true to yourselves, and you will have yours. We too must pass into the shade of retirement;—be lookers-on of your bustle for a few years;—pass on your deeds our comments;—give you our advice;—drop off;—and the place which now knows us, will know us no more.

“Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found,  
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground.  
Another race the following spring supplies;  
They fall successive, and successive rise.  
So generations in their race decay,  
So flourish these when those have passed away.”

I shall not moralise now on the subject, but I tell you that from large profits, or incomes, come habits of luxury; pride from luxury; and indolence following in the wake turns speedily back again the offspring to the ranks from which their ancestors sprang, to be again remoulded into the useful or the useless. The man that has risen by himself in the esteem of the world is a study. You may learn from his tact, from his manners, from his expression, how a great deal of his progress has been made.

I must confess, however, that in the study of character, I am at a loss to know why families do not bear a greater impress of the policy that has guided the successful elder. You shall find the senior as free from pride as his offspring are often full of it. Is it that a prophet has no honour in his own country, and so these younger scions scornfully look on the actions, dispositions, and desires of their progenitors with distaste? Or, is it that there has been a latent worm in the core which, subdued apparently in one

generation, becomes ravenous in another or two? Or, is it at last only a diversity of disposition, by which some men from the best of families are naturally born to be servants as others are to be masters.

There is this satisfaction, that the longer the injurious effects of wealth are staved off in a successful family, the more permanency it gives, in all probability, to that family. Avarice, I think, is more destructive of progress, but less injurious to family permanence. However, be this as it may, none of us can be wiser than Solomon. We cannot tell whether wisdom or folly is to follow us, any more than he did. Hence it is enough for us to remember his advice in all the carping cares of the world, that we may fulfil well the destiny of our being, as given into our hands to work out.

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The *Courier* writes,—“There is much pleasant humour and good sense in these literary trifles, and their author is well known as one whose constant aim it is to advance the mental and moral improvement of all who are within the sphere of his influence. The story of ‘The Spirit Dealer’ is somewhat unnecessarily revolting in some of its details, and the paper on ‘Commercial Rooms’ is scarcely so accurate in its delineations of life as might have been expected from the experience of its writer. We glean from the latter, however, a good illustration of wisdom in small things.—The grey-headed old ‘boots’ at Scarborough’s Hotel, Leeds, was asked by a father and his son, a youth of about twenty, for slippers. John brought in two pairs. The pair which the young man was helping himself to had heels; the other pair without heels he was about handing over to his father. Old John interfered. ‘No sir, musn’t have ‘em. For your father, sir. I never gives young men slippers with heels to. They would never stop in the house. Don’t you see that with slippers with no heels they can’t go very far away? When any friend calls they can only go to the door. They don’t always like such slippers at night, but they does’n’t often find fault with them in the morning. John hates to see young men make fools of ‘emselves. Shant if I can help it.’ The ‘friend, Thomas Smith,’ whose ‘pen warms under his subject,’ is scarcely deserving of so much attention bestowed upon him. There is, however, so much of innocent entertainment in this little volume, beside many practical and profitable suggestions, that none but a fastidious critic will dwell upon its minor defects.”

The *Builders’ Weekly Reporter* writes,—“This highly interesting and handsomely-bound little book, is another product of the mind of a gentleman connected with the timber trade in Liverpool, actively and closely engaged in mercantile pursuits, but nevertheless well known for his past literary efforts, his assiduous labours on behalf of the mental and moral improvement of his race, especially the younger portion of it, and his uniform, untiring perseverance in the cause of education and social progress. The author very modestly introduces himself to the reader by an account of his doings in the neighbourhood of his once residence, in the introduction there of a new and important branch of the cotton manufacture. After ten or twelve years’ struggling, and indomitable perseverance, Mr. Dawbarn succeeded in establishing the occupation alluded to, and in making it remunerative to those

whose capital was engaged therein. The unfortunate affair between the Northern and Southern States of America has, however, we fear, from the advance in the price of the raw material, considerably retarded the success of his attempt.

It was in the course of these honourable employments that he fell across that 'modest worth' whose merits he so prettily honours in the book before us. Under the *nom de guerre* of 'Thomas Smith,' we are introduced to 'an estimable living author,' hid in obscurity, modest, talented. If we want poetry, he can give us 'sweetest strains that angels use,' or the stern heroic fire that kindles feeling, while it raises delight. The poetical effusions of 'Thomas Smith' are truly full of fire, nerve, and pathos, and his prose productions are of a high order.

The 'Essays' by Mr. Dawbarn are on Popular Ignorance, the Market Days in various Manufacturing Towns, on Union Houses, to Ladies, on Commercial Rooms, Notes of a Literary Life, Gold Finding, Gold and Labour, Emigration, the Poetry of Pope, on Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire. The book closes with some anniversary addresses to a Mutual Improvement Society.

The article on 'Emigration' is terse, sound, Christian. The author in his previous essay has been remarking on the forlorn condition of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, and naturally argues therefrom that emigration is an object of vital importance, at the present time, to the welfare of society at large. He comments wisely on the cessation of railway employment, the ridiculously and lamentably small rate of remuneration among agricultural labourers, the stockingers of Leicester, and the weavers of Manchester; and the duty, therefore, of one portion of humanity to befriend the other, by sending the suffering to happier scenes. 'The climate of Australia, New Zealand, and America, are all of them better for the poor operative than the pauperism incidental to a country whose population has increased of late years at the rate of a thousand a day.' The 'Tales of Travel' are highly interesting, and are indicative of genius of no mean order. They captivate as you progress, and cannot be dropped after casual perusal. The 'Anniversary Addresses' are replete with Wisdom's sayings, and the warnings and teachings of History. The 'Essays' are singularly profound, especially those on 'Gold Finding,' and 'Gold and Labour.'

We cannot close these remarks without congratulating Mr. Dawbarn on the success of his literary efforts, and thanking him for his kind consideration of the young. Honest, wholesome, sterling heart-reading is just what is needed, and here we have it in abundance; truths which cannot fail to touch the affections, while they inform the mind and direct the will. They are lays directed to 'workers;' gems of instruction and advice to thinking men; pearls of mentality to those to whom 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever.' We cordially recommend the lovers of the young to distribute this little book broadcast among them.

Our apology for noticing a work of this class in a journal devoted to the Building Trade is that, it is a worthy production of a gentleman well known in our particular profession, and is an example of what may be done in the husbanding of time, where 'the will is father to the thought.'

